HARVARD UKRAINIAN STUDIES

Volume XIV Number 1/2 June 1990

Ukrainian Research Institute
Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Publication of this issue has been subsidized
by the late Zenon Shwedak,
benefactor of the Ukrainian Studies Fund, Inc.

*The editors assume no responsibility for
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ISSN 0363-5570

Published by the Ukrainian Research Institute of Harvard University,
Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A.

Typography by the Computer Based Laboratory, Harvard University,
and Chiron, Inc., Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Printed by Cushing-Malloy Lithographers, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in
Historical Abstracts and America: History and Life.

CONTENTS

REVIEWS

CHRONICLES

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The Ruthenian (Volhynian) Metrica: Polish Crown Chancery Records for Ukrainian Lands, 1569–1673*

PATRICIA KENNEDY GRIMSTED

Within the Crown chancery of the Kingdom of Poland after the Union of Lublin in 1569, a separate group of record books was kept with copies of Crown documents addressed to the palatinates of Volhynia, Bratslav, and Kiev, newly annexed from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.[1] These documents are of prime importance for the study of the Polish administration of these areas and of their economic and social development. The subsequent fate and archival disposition of these little-known records, however, has been shrouded in confusion. As a result, their natural order and the circumstances of their creation has been poorly understood.

* The preparation of this article would have been impossible without the unusual opportunities I had to conduct research simultaneously in both the USSR and Poland during several visits under the auspices of the academic exchange programs operated by the International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX). This study is based on materials held in the Central State Archive of Early Acts (*Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv drevnykh aktov*—hereafter TsGADA) in Moscow and in the Main Archive of Early Acts in Warsaw (*Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie*—hereafter AGAD), and I am indebted to the staff of both these institutions. I also appreciate the advice of Irena Sułkowska-Kurasiowa of the Institute of History (PAN) in Warsaw, of A. L. Khoroshkevich of the Institute of History of the USSR of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR in Moscow, of H. V. Boriak and N. N. Iakovenko of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR in Kiev, and of Ia. R. Dashkevych in Lviv. This article has been significantly revised from a shorter version that appeared in *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, 1989, no. 5. A longer version of this study is scheduled for publication in Kiev as the introduction to an edition of early inventories of the Ruthenian Metrica: *Rus'ka (Volyns'ka) metryka: Regesty ukrains'kykh aktiv koronnoi kantseliarii 1569-1673 rr.*, sponsored by the Archeographic Commission of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR (Kiev, forthcoming, 1992).

[1] In the act of annexation (27 May 1569), the so-called land of Volhynia included the palatinates of Volhynia and Bratslav; the text of the act is printed in *Akta unii Polski z Litwą 1385-1791*, ed. Stanisław Kutrzeba and Władysław Semkowicz (Cracow, 1932), pp. 301–308 (no. 136). The act of annexation for the palatinate of Kiev, signed on 6 June 1569, is printed in ibid., pp. 309–319 (no. 138). Kiev had already been organized as a separate palatinate under the Grand Duchy in 1471. The palatinates of Volhynia and Bratslav date from 1566. After 1569 they were reestablished as separate palatinates under the Crown.

Although the king of Poland and the grand duke of Lithuania were usually one and the same person, there were always separate chanceries for the Crown and the Grand Duchy; hence, their record books were always maintained separately, a practice formalized by the Union of Lublin. From at least the mid-fifteenth century, there were systematic chancery record books in which were inscribed complete official copies of all outgoing documents issued by the chancery, including legal decrees from the apellate courts of the Sejm that were presided over by the chancellor and vice-chancellor. Thus there are parallel groups of chancery records, known respectively as the Lithuanian Metrica (Polish, *Metryka Litewska*; Latin, *Acta [Metrica] Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae*) and the Crown Metrica (Polish, *Metryka Korona*; Latin, *Metrica Regni Poloniae*). As practices developed in both chanceries during the sixteenth century, separate books were kept for both the chancellor and the vice-chancellor who served the Grand Duchy or the Crown.[2] Further differentiation within each metrica complex was made between books of inscriptions and privileges and books of legal decrees, and there were several other specialized series.[3]

In both Crown and Lithuanian chanceries, inscriptions in official metrica record books were usually made in the language in which the documents were issued. In the Crown chancery during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Latin was the principle chancery language for both administrative and judicial functions. Crown chancery documents pertaining to the western Ukrainian lands of Old Rus'—namely, the Polish palatinates of Ruthenia and Belz, which had been subject to the Crown since the fourteenth century, and the palatinate of Podolia, which had been established after the area came under Crown administration in the mid-fifteenth

2 There were always separate chancellors and vice-chancellors for the Grand Duchy and the Crown. In both cases, an individual usually started as vice-chancellor before being promoted to chancellor (see appendix 3).

3 For further explanation of the different series of the Crown Metrica, see the most recent inventory prepared by AGAD in Warsaw, *Inwentarz Metryki Koronnej. Księgi wpisów i dekretów polskiej kancelarii królewskiej z lat 1447–1795* (hereafter *Inwentarz MK*), compiled by Irena Sułkowska-Kurasiowa and Maria Woźniakowa (Warsaw, 1975), and the series of earlier articles by Irena Sułkowska-Kurasiowa and her colleagues analyzing the different series. For an analysis of the corresponding series of the Lithuanian Metrica, see my "Introduction," in *The "Lithuanian Metrica" in Moscow and Warsaw: Reconstructing the Archives of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania*, by Patricia Kennedy Grimsted with the collaboration of Irena Sułkowska-Kurasiowa (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), and my later articles, "Czym jest i czym była Metryka Litewska? (Stan obecny i perspektywy odtworzenia zawartości archiwum kancelaryjnego Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego)," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 92, no. 1 (1985): 55–85, and "Układ i zawartość Metryki Litewskiej," *Archeion* 80 (1986): 121–82.

century—were all recorded in Latin in the appropriate basic books of the Crown Metrica, and this practice continued after the Union.

Throughout the lands of the Grand Duchy, on the other hand, Ruthenian was the main chancery language and the principle language of the local courts and administrative offices during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Representing as it did a linguistic predecessor of both modern Belorussian and Ukrainian, and quite distinct from the language of Muscovy, the Ruthenian language was already established in the Volhynian and Kievan lands of Old Rus', and it continued as the language of government and law in those areas.[4]

THE GENESIS OF THE RUTHENIAN SERIES

The acts of annexation, which transferred the sovereignty and administration of the palatinates of Volhynia, Bratslav, and Kiev from the Grand Duchy to the Crown in 1569, guaranteed the continued use of the Ruthenian language as the official language of the Grand Duchy, not only for local courts but also for all documents issued for or addressed to these areas by the Crown chancery.[5] Furthermore, legal procedures in the Ruthenian lands annexed to the Crown continued to follow the Lithuanian Statutes of 1529 and 1566, which laid the basis for judicial practices in the Grand Duchy before the union. Local courts in these Ukrainian lands continued to be modeled on those of the Grand Duchy, as agreed upon in the terms of annexation. In fact, the Second (1566) Lithuanian Statute became known as the Volhynian Statute because of its specific application in the Volhynian lands and its insistence on the recording of decrees in the Ruthenian language.

The guaranteed respect for the use of the Ruthenian language and the variation in legal tradition were undoubtedly the prime reasons in the Crown chancery for a separate series of record books. Yet, other factors

[4] Regarding this language in chancery usage, see, for example, Chr. S. Stang, *Die Westrussiche Kanzleisprache des Gossfuerstentums Litauen* (Oslo, 1935) (=Skifter utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo, II: Historisk-Filosofisk Klasse, no. 2).

[5] The same paragraph appears in the texts of the acts of union for both Volhynia and Kiev: "8. To też za prośbą wszech wołyńskiej ziemie przerzeczonych stanow zostawujemy, iż we wszelakich sprawach ich sądowych, jako pozwy, wpisywanie do ksiąg, akta i wszelakie potrzeby ich, tak sądow naszych grodzkich i ziemskich, jako z kancelarjej naszej koronnej, dekreta nasze i we wszytkich potrzebach naszych krolewskich i ziemskich koronnych do nich listy nie jakim inym, jedno ruskiem pismem pisane i odprawowane być mają czasy wiecznymi," *Akta unii*, p. 305, no. 136 and p. 316, no. 138. These texts are also printed in *Volumina Legum Regni Poloniae et Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae* 2: 83, 86.

deserve consideration; these separate records were a reflection of the degree of administrative, judicial, and territorial autonomy with which these areas were—at least initially—considered by the Crown chancery. The fact that these Ruthenian lands had their own distinctive religious and cultural traditions, and had not previously been subject to Crown Poland, produced a sense of regional autonomy within the Commonwealth. The consciousness of the Ruthenian nobility for their traditions and legal distinctions is seen in later years in their demands for the adherence to the provisions of the Lithuanian statutes, the presence of duly qualified Ruthenian notaries, use of the Ruthenian language, and continuation of the separate series of record books within the Crown Metrica for documents pertaining to Ruthenian lands.[6] Thus, after 1569, a separate series of record books was kept in the Crown chancery for copies of documents addressed to these palatinates. This usage continued through the mid-seventeenth century, when Polish gradually replaced Ruthenian as the administrative and judicial language in these areas, and when much of the region was no longer under Crown jurisdiction.

The distinctive group of Crown chancery records for the Ukrainian palatinates from the years 1569 through 1673—the Ruthenian Metrica—is now housed as part of the so-called Lithuanian Metrica collection (fond 389) in the Central State Archive of Early Acts (*Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv drevnikh aktov*—TsGADA) in Moscow.[7] The only inventory now in use for them in TsGADA, compiled by the current metricant, Stanisław Ptaszycki (1853–1933), was published in 1887, when the collection included other major groups of Polish Crown records. That inventory was misleadingly entitled the ''Lithuanian Metrica,'' undoubtedly as a result of the official anti-Polish policy of the time.[8] The high-level Lithuanian and Polish archival materials covered by this inventory had all been brought to St. Petersburg from Warsaw after the Third Partition of Poland in 1795. The first St. Petersburg inventory, prepared in 1798, retained the traditional

[6] See more specific examples of gentry demands below, fns. 63, 90, 124, and 181. See Frank E. Sysyn, ''Regionalism and Political Thought in Seventeenth-Century Ukraine: The Nobility's Grievances at the Diet of 1641,'' *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* (hereafter *HUS*), 6, no. 2 (June 1982): 167–90.

[7] TsGADA, fond 389, nos. 191–211, 214–20.

[8] Stanisław Ptaszycki (S. L. Ptashitskii), *Opisanie knig i aktov Litovskoi metriki* (St. Petersburg, 1887). The Ruthenian series is listed (pp. 108–111) as section I.B—*Knigi zapisei, B. Koronnyia*, I.B.1–32, with the earlier letter designations indicated beneath the numbers.

distinction between the Polish Crown Metrica and the Lithuanian Metrica and other groups of Polish records that were then part of the collection.[9]

Except for the Ruthenian series, the rest of the Crown Metrica was subsequently returned to Warsaw.[10] During the nineteenth century, the collection of archival materials from the Commonwealth had been kept under the control of the Governing Senate in St. Petersburg. The relatively unknown 1828 inventory of the collection, prepared by the current metricant Stefan Koziełło (b. 1774), also preserved the distinction between the Crown and the Lithuanian Metrica by retaining the numbers for the Ruthenian series according to the 1798 inventory of the Crown Metrica.[11] The distinction was obscured, however, after the Polish uprising of 1831, when the collection was euphemistically labeled the "Metrica of the Reunited Provinces" in the official inventory prepared in 1836.[12] That inventory was the product of the thorough inspection and registration of the collection by an imperial

[9] The 1798 inventory was published with minor later revisions as an appendix to *Kniga posol'skaia Metriki Velikogo kniazhestva Litovskogo, soderzhashchaia v sebe diplomaticheskie snosheniia Litvy v gosudarstvovanie korolia Sigismunda-Avgusta (s 1545 po 1572 god)*, ed. I. N. Daniłowicz (Danilovich) and M. A. Obolenskii, 2 vols. (Moscow, 1843), 1:327–418. The Ruthenian series is there listed with the Crown Metrica numbers 304–333 (see p. 340), although it is not designated as a separate series. The compiler, Igor Kirshbaum, adds a note at the beginning: "The following 29 books from No 304–333 contain documents, predominantly relating to the palatinates of Kiev, Volhynia, Bratslav, and Chernihiv, written in 'Rus' [sic] and Polish." He also lists the earlier letter designations for the volumes assigned in the seventeenth century.

[10] For a full explanation of the history of the collection and correlation for the materials now in Warsaw and Moscow, see *The "Lithuanian Metrica" in Moscow and Warsaw*. Regarding the Ruthenian series, see especially the "Introduction," pp. 31–33, and Appendix 7, pp. A-103–A-105. This volume contains an annotated reprint edition of the 1887 Ptaszycki inventory with marginal indication of present code numbers. See also my earlier article, "What Is and What Was the 'Lithuanian Metrica'? Contents, History, and Organization of the Chancery Archives of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania," in *HUS* 6, no. 3 (September 1982): 269–338, and my later articles cited in fn. 3.

[11] "Opis' delam Litovskoi i Koronnoi Metriki, sostoiashchei Pravitel'stvuiushchego Senata pri 3-m Departamente," TsGADA, fond 328, delo 64a. That inventory (now held in a separate fond with materials from the Metrica chancery in St. Petersburg) is signed by Stefan Koziełło and countersigned by M. Trushkovskii. It lists only the 1798 Crown Metrica numbers and foliation counts for individual volumes, with some notes about missing folios; earlier code numbers are not provided, nor is there any description of the nature or contents of individual volumes.

[12] One copy of the 1836 inventory now remains in TsGADA, inappropriately numbered as a file unit within the fond of the so-called Expedition of the Lithuanian Metrica, consisting of the partial remains of the Senate Metrica chancery from St. Petersburg: "Opis' knigam aktov, khraniashchimsia v Metrike prisoedinennykh provintsii," TsGADA, fond 328 (earlier 1,890), delo 251. The manuscript inventory, as presently bound, is preceded by a short historical survey of the metrica collection: "Istoricheskie svedeniia o Metrike," pp. 1–13 (now fols. I–VII). The account is unsigned and not without some errors.

commission of 1835; the official numbering system assigned by the commission was the basis for the 1887 inventory prepared by Ptaszycki.[13]

The Ruthenian record books involved are an integral part of the Crown Metrica and, as Ptaszycki explained in his introduction,[14] they constitute a separate series of the Crown chancery inscription books with copies of royal documents addressed to the central Ukrainian lands. They contain officially recorded copies of various charters, privileges, bequests, legal decrees, and other documents issued by the main Crown chancery or vice-chancery that were addressed to the Crown palatinates of Kiev, Volhynia, Bratslav, and the land (after 1618) and later palatinate (after 1634/35) of Chernihiv between the years 1569 and 1673.[15] The fact that they also contain copies of legal decrees from the courts of the Sejm sets them apart from the main series of Crown inscription books for privileges. These Ukrainian lands had previously been under the jurisdiction of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and documents addressed to them were recorded in the Ruthenian language in the books of the Lithuanian chancery.

The series is usually cited as the Ruthenian, or Volhynian, Metrica (*Metryka Ruska*, or *Metryka Wołyńska*) in Polish scholarship.[16] There are thirty volumes in the TsGADA group, according to the late nineteenth-century Ptaszycki inventory, although—as we will see—only twenty-eight of them are original record books of the Ruthenian series.[17] In his introduction to the 1887 inventory, Ptaszycki identifies the series as the ''Volhynian Metrica,''[18] probably because Ruthenian was not then considered a distinctive language and because there was—and still is—no distinctive word for ''Ruthenian'' in the Russian language. In the books themselves, and in seventeenth-century descriptions of them, the term ''Ruthenian'' is found

13 A note on the front paste-down endpaper explains that the inventory was in fact the product of the imperial commission appointed in 1834/35 to inspect and register the metrica complex, prepared by the metricant who headed the commission, Franciszek Malewski (Rus. Frantseshek Malevskii). The present *opis'* of fond 328 incorrectly identifies the inventory as dating from 1887. In fact, the copy held in that fond in TsGADA is officially inscribed, tied, and sealed to the effect that it was used for Ptaszycki's official 1887 publication. (See Ptaszycki's signature on fols. 1 and 24, along with the appropriate ties and seals.)

14 See Ptaszycki, *Opisanie*, pp. 27–28.

15 It should be noted that many documents addressed to the area of Novhorod-Siveria were also entered in this series after its annexation to the Commonwealth, together with Chernihiv, by the Treaty of Deulino (now Zagorsk) in 1618, even before its incorporation into the newly established palatinate of Chernihiv in 1634/35.

16 See, for example, the series title in the 1975 AGAD inventory of the Crown Metrica, where the series is thoroughly described: *Inwentarz MK*, pp. 229–40.

17 TsGADA, fond 389, nos. 191–220. See Grimsted, *The ''Lithuanian Metrica'' in Moscow and Warsaw*, pp. 31–33, and the reprinted Ptaszycki inventory, pp. 108–111.

18 Ptaszycki, *Opisanie*, p. 27: ''Otdel' ètot izvesten pod nazvaniem Volynskoi metriki.''

more frequently than "Volhynian" in reference to the series. Initially, the books were most often simply described as "Register of Ruthenian affairs. . . ," "Books of the Crown Chancery. . . ," or "Ruthenian Books of the Main Chancery" for affairs of the lands—or palatinates—of Kiev, Volhynia, and Bratslav, with the name of a specific reigning monarch and officiating chancellor or vice-chancellor.[19]

As is apparent from such references, the term "Ruthenian" was used primarily to indicate the geographical area. It was also used, however, to refer to the language, because the majority of documents were inscribed—at least during the first half-century after the union—in the Ruthenian (early Ukrainian) language. For example, one of the earliest volumes has the original title, "Books of Documents (often with the type specified) in Ruthenian writing. . . ."[20]

The term "metrica" rarely occurs in the books themselves before the 1630s. The first book listed has a title, in Polish, "Acts of the Ruthenian Metrica for the palatines of Kiev, Volhynia, Bratslav and Chernihiv and Podolia," but it was obviously added later in the seventeenth century, since Chernihiv only became a palatinate in 1634/35.[21] One of the first instances of the term "metrica" in connection with the series is the inscription on the cover of book "V-19," completed in 1626, but with no designation of a separate "Ruthenian Metrica."[22]

EARLY DESCRIPTIONS OF THE RUTHENIAN SERIES

The Ruthenian Metrica was first described as a separate series after the Crown Metrica was returned from Sweden in 1664 and reorganized in the Royal Castle in Warsaw by the then official Crown chancery metricant (or archivist) Stefan Kazimierz Hankiewicz (d. 1701), who simultaneously held the titles of Crown secretary (*sekretarz*) and judicial clerk (*pisarz dekre-*

19 "Reestr pervshyi sprav ruskykh danyn, potverzhen'ie privil'ev y zapysov vechnykh y dochasnykh zeml' Kyievskoe, Volynskoe y Braslava Podol'skoho,. . . ." (Book "A-1," TsGADA, no. 191); "Knyhy naiasneysheho Zhykhymonta Avhusta. . . sprav ruskykh Zemly volyn'skoe v kantsley koronnoy" (Book "B-2," TsGADA, no. 192). Note that in this period, in both Polish and Ruthenian, "book" is used in the plural, suggesting that the term "book" used in the singular indicated the individual fascicles used unbound as notebooks.

20 "Reestr pervshyi pysmom ruskym, danyn, potverzhen'ie y inykh sprav y listov potrebnykh zeml' Kyievskoi y Volynskoe, za schaslyvoho panovania korolia eho mlsty Henryka. . . ." (Book "C-3," TsGADA, no. 193).

21 TsGADA, no. 191 ("A-1"), fol. Iv.

22 TsGADA, no. 209: "Xiegi Rvskie Metriki K: I: M Wolynskie" [Ruthenian Books of the Metrica of His Majesty the King: Volhynia].

towy) for Volhynia.[23] Of Silesian family origin, Hankiewicz was born in Ostroh (Pol. Ostrog) in the palatinate of Volhynia, where his family was in service to the Ostroz'kyi (Pol. Ostrogski) princes.[24] The inventory in question (Pol. *Inwentarz*; Latin, *Synopsis*) was prepared in 1665/66 and revised with added entries through 1675.[25] Although Hankiewicz mentions having prepared at least four copies, the only known extant one is now located in the Manuscript Division of the library of the Ossolineum in Wrocław.[26] Hankiewicz designates a separate series entitled, "Acts, that is to say, Ruthenian and Polish Books of the Palatinates of Volhynia, Bratslav, Kiev, and Chernihiv, in which are inscribed Decrees, Privileges, Inscriptions, and Other Various Matters."[27] This section of the inventory is the only one in which the books included are all described in Polish; other sections of the inventory are presented in Latin.

Hankiewicz identifies twenty-four volumes, to which he assigns the numbers 1 through 24 and the letters A through Z, with the omission of "J" and "U" (not then used in the Latin alphabet) and the letter "P." On a separate line, where the volume designated "P" should have been, he notes that he found no books from the years 1608, 1609, and 1610. The last volume, covering the years 1652–1673, which he had prepared himself, he assigns the designation "SB-24."[28]

23 Regarding Hankiewicz (originally Hankiewic), see the biographical sketch by Alina Sokołowska in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (hereafter *PSB*), 9 (1960-1961): 275–76. His date of death has since been established as 1701. All the books of the Crown Metrica had been removed from the Royal Castle in Warsaw by the Swedes in 1655.

24 In a published document from 1620, for example, "Holubko Hankovych" is identified among those in service to Konstantin Ivanovych, Prince Ostroz'kyi; see *Archivium XX Lubartowiczów-Sanguszków w Sławucie*, ed. Bronisław Gorczak, 7 vols. (Lviv, 1887–1910), 3: 102.

25 "Inwentarz ksiąg w Metrice Koronney oboiey to iest w wielkiey y w małey będących...." Following a page-and-a-half introduction, there is an added Latin title, "Synopsis seu connotatio variorum librorum vulgo Metrica Regni dictorum, decreta, inscriptiones, privilegia, legationes, lustrationes in se continentium...et per Suecos...tempore incursionis receptorum, ex Suecia vero in Regnum Poloniae vigore pactorum Olivensium restitutorum...notariatu g-si d-ni Stephani Casimiri Hankiewic S. R. M-tis secretarii...accuratissime et diligentissime collecta et ad ordinem reducta ac notis alphabeticis et numero signata...." Biblioteka Ossolineum PAN (Wrocław), MS 137 (36 fols.).

26 The inventory is listed with its full Latin title in the 1881 catalogue of the Ossolineum manuscript collection in Lviv by Wojciech Kętrzyński, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Ossolinianae Leopoliensis*, vol. 1 (Lviv, 1881), pp. 191–92 (no. 137). It was transferred to Wrocław in 1946. A photocopy is available in AGAD in Warsaw.

27 "Acta abo księgi Ruskie, y Polskie woiewodztw Wołynskiego, Bracławskiego, Kiiowskiego, y Czerniechowskiego, w ktorych znayduią się tak dekreta przywileie, zapisy, iako y inne rozne rzeczy," fols. 19–20v.

28 It would appear that, initially, this volume was indicated with the starting dates of 1652, 1653, and 1654, and a concluding date in the 1660s, later corrected to read 1673. The trace of the top part of a "6" can be seen under the added "73."

At the end of the section, Hankiewicz mentions "two other registers bound in parchment" in the vault, in which were written "legal conclusions" and "privileges approved by the court," to which he does not assign numbers. He also mentions some additional papers or fascicles left by his predecessor for Ruthenian chancery affairs, Ian Bederman (often Benderman; d. 1652), which he intended to put in order or recopy.[29] One small fascicle from Bederman's period, containing drafts of privileges and related documents addressed to Ruthenian lands, dating from 1635, is now held in AGAD with other books of protocols of the Crown Metrica (MK 354); the draft privileges included coincide closely with those recorded in Bederman's book "Z-23."[30] One parchment-bound book of protocols from the court of the Sejm relating to the Ruthenian palatinates from the years 1659–1666 is extant in AGAD, but most of the cases covered are recorded with more formal decrees in Hankiewicz's own book "SB-24."[31] Elsewhere in the "Synopsis," Hankiewicz listed two other separate books of legal protocols relating to Ruthenian lands—one dating from the 1620s and the other from the 1640s—but neither of these are extant.[32]

Hankiewicz notes that the volume he lists as "Y, No 22" is from the Lithuanian chancery, although it was obviously then stored with the Crown Metrica.[33] This volume is still stored with the Ruthenian series in TsGADA,

[29] See fn. 78 for more data on Bederman.

[30] AGAD, MK 354. The documents, although now bound in a different order, match entirely the documents recorded in a separate fascicle of privileges in TsGADA, fond 389, no. 214 (no. Z-23), although there are a few documents (or parts of documents) found there that have not yet been correlated with book "Z-23." The present binding—in a paper cover—was probably prepared in Warsaw in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. Book "Z-23" was itself put together by Hankiewicz, as noted in the inscription on the front paste-down endpaper: "Ta księga po smierci nebla Jana B[ederma]na na pisarza dekretowego tychze wojewod[ztw] z raptlarzow manuałow protocołłow y sexte[rn]ow kosztem staraniem y pracą urodzonego S[te]fan[a] Hankiewicą Sekretarza J.K.M. na pisarstw[o de]kretowe tez pozeysciu onego na ten czas następ[. . .] przepisana oprawna y vzywaniu publiczney accomodowana."

[31] AGAD, ASZ[SiR] 21. The book in question, containing only thirteen half-sheet leaves, was earlier listed by Ptaszycki as II.B.2 (*Opisanie*, p. 147).

[32] "Protocołow Sądow Seymowych Wołynskich Bracławskich Czerichowskich Wo[jewo]dstwo dla roku 1621 et 1626. Sub Literis ZC No 27," and "Protocollon Judiciorum Comitialium tychze w dztw annorum 1643 5 et 6. Sub Literis ZD No 28," Hankiewicz, "Synopsis," fol. [25v]. These books do not appear in later inventories of the Crown Metrica from 1796 in St. Petersburg or from the nineteenth or early twentieth century in Warsaw, so it is not possible to determine their fate.

[33] "Księga iedna popsowana bez cooperty albo compatury, za króla IM-ci Stefana, raczej do litewskiej kancelariej należąca. Item sextern jeden nieoprawny ręką p. Zachariasza Jełowickiego, stolnika kijowskiego, pisarza podpisany, które się kładzą w xięgę czerwoną sub l[ite]ra Y (No 22)." Hankiewicz, "Synopsis," fol. 20v.

although technically it should be considered part of the Lithuanian Metrica.[34] It is an original book of Lithuanian chancery inscriptions dating from 1580–1581 from the chancery of Ostafi Volovych (Eustachy Wołowicz), who served as chancellor of the Grand Duchy from 1579 until his death in 1587. Since the entire corpus of the Lithuanian Metrica was copied starting in 1598, this volume evokes particular interest because it is one of the few surviving original volumes.[35]

Slightly later than the "Synopsis," Hankiewicz prepared a separate summary register listing almost all the individual documents contained in the books of the Ruthenian series—his so-called "Index" or "Regestr," dated 1673, the only known original copy of which is now held in the Main Archive of Early Acts (AGAD) in Warsaw.[36] It includes at the end registers of documents for an additional five volumes not listed in the earlier "Synopsis,"[37] bringing the total number of books in the Ruthenian series to twenty-eight (not including the Lithuanian volume "Y-22" or the small fascicles of protocols).[38] Hankiewicz assigned double letters to each of these five volumes. Later inventories from the late eighteenth century arranged them in their more appropriate chronological sequence within the Ruthenian series, but that chronological order was not respected by the St. Petersburg commission of 1835. Hence, the present TsGADA arrangement follows, for the most part, the earlier Hankiewicz order.

34 TsGADA, fond 389, no. 212, with the earlier number "Y-22." The inside cover has the Latin note "Liber vigesimus secundus sub litera Y No 22 Stephano Rege Magis ad Metricam Lithuanicam quam Regni spectat. . . Ostafia Wołowicza cancellariatu M.D.L. . . ."

35 See TsGADA, fond 389, nos. 61–69. Ptaszycki lists nos. 61 and 65 as originals, but all the rest as copies.

36 AGAD, TzwML VIII.1: "Index actorum publicorum, albo Regestr xiąg y w nich spraw, przywileiow, dekretow krolewskich do woiewodztw czterech: Kijowskiego, Wołyńskiego, Bracławskiego y Czerniechowskiego, ferowanych y wydanych z kancelariey koronney od roku 1569 do 1673 inclusive za staraniem, pracą y kosztem własnym Stefana Kazimierza Hankewicza anno 1673."

37 An eighteenth-century copy of the "Index" survives to the present, but it lacks coverage of the last three books summarized in the 1673 copy—AGAD, Archiwum Kameralne III.320 (68 fols.). Since this copy lacks the last three books summarized in the 1673 copy, it may have been prepared from an earlier version; otherwise, it is identical to the Hankiewicz text. A similar copy with the exact same number of folios was held prior to the First World War in the Imperial Public Library in St. Petersburg (Pol.F.II.76), as listed by Józef Korzeniowski, *Zapiski z rękopisów Cesarskiej Biblioteki Publicznej w Petersburgu i innych bibliotek peterburskich* (Cracow, 1910), p. 204; returned to Warsaw in the 1920s, it was reportedly destroyed during World War II. The present AGAD copy has no markings to indicate it was ever held in St. Petersburg.

38 Hankiewicz does not summarize the contents of "Y-22" in his register, but explains that it belongs to the Lithuanian chancery.

The first additional volume, "BX-25," that Hankiewicz claimed to have put together himself contains Polish-language copies of legal decrees and a few privileges from the years 1637–1641, also recorded in Ruthenian by Jan Bederman in the more official additional volume that Hankiewicz designated as "XC."[39] Two of the other three books came from the chancery of Jan Zamoyski and contain a number of royal letters in addition to privileges and legal decrees: "XD," with documents from the years 1576 to 1584;[40] and "KB," covering the years 1588 to 1593.[41] Finally, there is a small volume of eighty-five folios, predominantly legal decrees from 1605 to 1609, designated as "XF."[42]

In addition to the twenty-eight volumes described by Hankiewicz and now held in TsGADA, one additional recently discovered volume, with documents dating from 1609 to 1612, can be identified conclusively as belonging to the Ruthenian series. This volume is now located in the Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences in the castle of Kórnik, near Poznań.[43] Its similar documentary contents, the overlapping chancery personnel responsible for it, its binding and other physical resemblances, and the fact that it fills a natural gap in the chronological sequence of documents recorded (noted above for the letter "P"), all confirm its identity as part of the Ruthenian series.[44] The curious fate of the volume itself—the book remained in Sweden when the rest of the Crown Metrica was returned to Warsaw in 1664 and was presented by the king of Sweden to Prince Adam

39 TsGADA, fond 389, no. 215 ("BX-25") and no. 219 ("XC").

40 TsGADA, no. 216, 383 fols. (MK 308). It is an unusually large volume that was later counted as two books. The Latin title on the initial folio was added in the eighteenth century; note the inclusion of Chernihiv as a palatinate, although it became one only in 1635: "Liber decretorum palatinatuum Kyoviae Volhyniae Braslaviae et Czerniechoviae 26 No 27 sub lit XD. Annorum 1576 ad 1584. Stephano Rege."

41 TsGADA, no. 217 (MK 314). It is a single fascicle of only 22 folios, bound separately, containing a variety of official documents, and should be placed in sequence before the volume "K-10."

42 TsGADA, no. 218 (MK 321). It belongs in sequence after the volume "0-14."

43 Kórnik MS 323 (61 fols.). A title on the elaborate roll-stamped leather cover identifies it as a "Book of Ruthenian (*ruskich*) affairs" from the Crown vice-chancery of J. S. Kryski: "Xiegi spraw rvskich K.I.M. Zigmvnta III za iasnie wielmoznego Sczesnego Kriskiego podkanclerzego koronnego przes Jana Marcinkiewicza, 1609–1612."

44 See Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, "A Missing Volume of the Ruthenian Metrica: Crown Chancery Documents for Ukrainian Lands, 1609–1612, from the Kórnik Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences," *HUS* 11, no. 3/4 (December 1987): 487–520. A forthcoming Polish translation will appear in the yearbook of the Kórnik Library, *Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej*, vol. 23.

Jerzy Czartoryski in 1810—explains why it is now held in Kórnik rather than with the rest of the series in Moscow.[45]

With the inclusion of the Kórnik volume, we can now identify twenty-nine books that should be considered part of the Ruthenian Metrica. Whether there were others—apart from the missing books of legal protocols mentioned above—is impossible to say on the basis of the evidence available. The only known lists—not really proper inventories—of the Crown Metrica prior to Hankiewicz's 1666 "Synopsis" are two very sketchy ones prepared for the chancery of Wacław Leszczyński (ca. 1576–1628).[46] The first, prepared in 1623 when Leszczyński was vice-chancellor, lists earlier books from the vice-chancery; the second, prepared in 1627 when he became chancellor, lists books from the main chancery. The vice-chancery list simply mentions fourteen books as Ruthenian ("libri Rutheniei quatuordecem"), and the main chancery list, which provides more details, identifies a total of sixteen as Ruthenian. Those figures and the actual descriptions correspond for the most part to the books now extant for the first half-century of the Ruthenian series, given the probability of some overlap between the two lists since at least half of the extant Ruthenian books started for the vice-chancery contain significant portions prepared for the main chancery.

Note should be made in passing that there is one additional volume still mistakenly housed with the group of Ruthenian record books from the Crown Metrica in TsGADA, which was not mentioned by Hankiewicz and which does not belong with the Ruthenian Metrica. The volume—of Lithuanian pertinence (with documents dated 1631–1633)—belongs to the small series of extant books from the *Referendarz* court.[47] As indicated on

[45] See the manuscript list of Polish books and documents presented to Czartoryski in 1810: "Specyfikacya książek i dokumentów darowanych przez króla szwedzkiego młodemu X. Ad. Czartoryskiemu," Biblioteka Czartoryskich, MS 1182, fols. 237–243. The fourth item listed exactly describes the manuscript volume in question: "Księgi spraw Ruskich za Zygmunta trzeciego za J. W. Szczesnego Kryskiego Podkanclerza Koronnego, przez Jana Marcinkiewicza folio oprawne w skorże" (fol. 237). Presumably, the volume would have been taken to the Czartoryski estate at Puławy, and later found its way to Kórnik with other manuscripts from the Czartoryski collection. See more details in my article cited in fn. 44.

[46] "Regestrum libros metrica cancellariae minoris...," AGAD, MK 165, fols. 2v–4, and "Regestrum actorum cancell[ari]ae maioris...," AGAD, MK 176, fols. 1–3.

[47] TsGADA, fond 389, no. 213; earlier listed as 23/Y. First described with the Ruthenian series in the eighteenth-century Cywiński inventory, it can be identified as the missing "Ks. Ref. 4" in the Crown Metrica inventory, *Inwentarz MK*, p. 287, fn. 1. This follows the listing in the 1798 St. Petersburg inventory.

the title page of the volume itself, it is of provenance in the chancery of Marcin Tryzna, who served as Lithuanian vice-chancellor and *referendarz*.[48]

CHANCERY PRACTICES AND RUTHENIAN NOTARIES

When formal charters of privilege were issued to members of the gentry (Pol. *szlachta*) or to municipal or church institutions, a copy was usually inscribed in the appropriate book of inscriptions (Latin, *libri inscriptiones*; Pol. *księgi wpisów*) of the Crown Metrica. The recipient normally had to pay a fee to have the document recorded and frequently had the document recorded more than once. Often, privileges issued went through the process of formal approval by the Sejm, in which case they were usually recorded with an additional protocol about such approval, and a second date might be involved. When the recipient of a charter of privilege returned home, he could have the charter recorded in local inscription books maintained by the office of the district castle court (Ukr. *horods'kyi sud*) servicing the area where he resided, but this was not done consistently. Recorded copies of many documents found in the Ruthenian series would then also be found in local Volhynian court record books. For the period in question, however, almost none survive from the Kiev and Bratslav palatinates.

The recording was usually made in the language of the document, which, in the case of privileges in the Ruthenian series before the 1620s, was almost always in Ruthenian. In some cases, privileges issued earlier were entered in full at a later date as an officially recorded copy (Latin, *oblata*) in the metrica books, with an initial and concluding protocol giving the document further legal status. These protocols were not always in the language of the document itself, and, starting in the 1620s, they appeared increasingly in Polish. Similarly, starting in the 1620s, documents issued in Polish or Latin were recorded in the Ruthenian books with only an initial and concluding protocol (i.e., registration protocols) in Ruthenian. There are a few cases in the Latin books in which documents issued in Ruthenian are recorded in Ruthenian with an initial and concluding protocol in Latin or Polish.

48 "Xięgi Potoczne za Pisarstwa IM X Pisarza y Referendarza WoXoLo/ Liber Ruthenico Caractere scriptus in quo continentur privilegia M.D. Litto fa[ctus] ad Cancellariatu M. D. Litto pertinet. . . 1631, 1632, 1633." Although Ptaszycki lists it with the Crown Ruthenian series (*Opisanie*, p. 110—I.B.23), he explains (*Opisanie*, p. 28) that it is from the Lithuanian chancery.

The types of documents issued by the king and recorded in the metrica books were many and varied. The formal names appear in many orthographic variants in the documents themselves and in later citations, reflecting the degree of polonization or ruthenization from the original Latin forms.[49] Furthermore, there was not always a strict differentiation between types of documents, and a single charter could contain several different categories of privileges. Nevertheless, a few prominent examples of the many types of documents appearing in the Ruthenian metrica books are mentioned here.[50]

For example, many royal charters granted to cities and towns (Latin, *fundatio*) such rights and privileges as the right to municipal self-rule under Magdeburg Law, usually detailing the factors involved in specific cases. Subsequent monarchs would often issue a royal confirmation (Latin, *confirmatio*; Ukr. *potverzhen'ie*; Pol. *potwierdzenie*) of such privileges, sometimes with modifications or amendments. Many royal charters granted land or villages to individual nobles, or occasionally to monasteries or churches. These included a direct grant (Latin, *donatio*; Pol. *nadanie*; Ukr. *danyna*) of specific villages or hamlets or plots of land. Offices were another important category of royal charters granted to individuals, especially given the wide range of court and local offices appointed by the Crown. Among other categories of documents were types of royal letters or permits, including a testimony (Latin, *atestatio*) or a mandate (Latin, *plenipotentio*). The documents recorded in the metrica books all followed

49 For example, terms starting with "c" in Latin in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century were also spelled with "c" in Polish, but by the late seventeenth century they would usually be polonized to an initial "k." In the text that follows, Latin forms, where appropriate, are listed first, since in many cases both Polish and Ruthenian forms for legal terms and official royal documents were derived from Latin. When Latin and Polish (Pol.) or Ukrainian/Ruthenian (Ukr.) forms differ significantly, variant forms are cited as well. In such cases, transliterated early Ukrainian (Ruthenian) forms are listed first, followed by Polish, or polonized Latin. In both cases, orthography is usually modernized to conform with the usage found in current scholarly writing. Sometimes a polonized form of the Latin would be used in one document, whereas the next document of the same type would use a translated Polish form.

50 There is no satisfactory dictionary of these legal terms with variant forms in appropriate languages. Many terms also used in local court records within the Grand Duchy (often with Latin, Polish, and Ruthenian equivalents) are cited by N. I. Gorbachevskii, *Slovar' drevne aktovogo iazyka Sievero-Zapadnogo kraia i Tsarstva Pol'skogo* (Vilnius, 1874). See also the much briefer, and less satisfactory, glossary by I. P. Novyts'kyi, "Spravochnyi slovar' iuridicheskikh terminov drevnogo aktovogo iazyka Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii," *Universitetskie izvestiia*, 1871, no. 8, pp. 1–12; and 1871, no. 3, pp. 186–206, which covers, in Cyrillic and Latin sections, some legal terms found specifically in local records from the palatinates of Volhynia, Kiev, and Bratslav. A glossary of some of the judicial terms found most frequently in the Ruthenian Metrica will accompany the Kiev publication. A more comprehensive scholarly historical dictionary with coverage of judicial terms is still needed.

prescribed chancery formulae, which were presented in various chancery manuals.[51] One such extant manual from the mid-seventeenth century includes sample documents from the Ruthenian palatinates (in Polish), demonstrating the close integration of chancery practices by that time.[52]

Legal decrees and related court decisions recorded in the Crown Metrica came only from the high courts of the Sejm, since separate records were kept for the various sessions of the Crown Tribunal and other courts.[53] Legal decrees from the Sejm were most often issued on the conclusion of the highest instances of appelate adjudication of gentry land, inheritance, or financial disputes, appeals from municipal magistracies and lower courts, and other types of cases or legal procedures within the competency of the Sejm courts, presided over by the chancellor or vice-chancellor or *referendarz*. Like privileges and other inscriptions, legal decrees from the period of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century were highly formalized. And there were a number of categories of legal decisions or other judicial documents issued, in addition to the formal decree (*dekret*), that were recorded in books of the Crown Metrica and that are now to be found in the Ruthenian series.

Among the main books of the Crown Metrica, separate volumes were kept for legal decrees (most of them from this period were destroyed during World War II).[54] In the first books of the Ruthenian series, it would appear that a distinction was intended between books of decrees and books of privileges.[55] For example, during the years 1574 through 1578,

[51] See, for example, the large manual for the Crown chancery giving sample documents of different categories, dating from the reign of Sigismund III: "Formularium expeditionum ex cancellaria Regia" (No 8), AGAD, TzwML III.B.43. A smaller volume, with formulae from the Lithuanian chancery from a slightly earlier period (dated 1566 to 1572), is held with the Lithuanian Metrica in TsGADA, fond 389, *opis'* 1, no. 530: "Formulae iurametorum conciliariorum Sacrae Regiae Mia. . . MDL. . . ."

[52] "Formularium Cansellariae Regni Poloniae" (No 15), with sample documents from the reigns of Sigismund III and Jan III, held among the papers of the Crown notary Hieronim Pinocci (1613–1676) in Cracow, Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie (hereafter APKr), IT 377. For example, see the sample document for the appointment of Gabriel Stempkowski as castellan of Bratslav (pp. 176–77). See also the additional untitled volume of sample chancery documents (1669–1676) in the same collection, APKr, IT 376 (245 pp.).

[53] For more information about Crown legal records in the context of the court sytem that produced them, see Stanisław Kutrzeba, *Historia zródeł dawnego prawa polskiego*, vol. 1 (Cracow, 1925), especially pp. 130–58, and vol. 2, pp. 377–83. Regrettably, many of the Crown judicial records described by Kutrzeba were destroyed during World War II.

[54] See the helpful discussion of the legal records within the compass of the Crown Metrica, and an inventory of the books that remain in AGAD from the period 1591 to 1673, in *Inwentarz MK*, pp. 249–73, 280–93.

[55] In the first book from the vice-chancery (TsGADA, no. 191—"A-1"), with documents from the years 1569 through 1574, there was only a single decree (from 1572), but in the corresponding Ruthenian book from the main chancery for the years 1569–1574 (TsGADA,

simultaneous books were kept by the vice-chancellor for privileges (no. 193—"C-3") and for decrees (no. 194—"D-4"), although in the latter case other types of documents were recorded along with decrees.[56] In most of the subsequent books of the Ruthenian series, however, decrees were regularly interspersed with privileges and other official inscriptions, although in some periods they were segregated in a separate fascicle. The evidence of three separate Ruthenian books of protocols from the Sejm court from different periods in the seventeenth century suggests that, at least initially, Ruthenian legal decrees were being handled separately—and separately, obviously, from other Crown decrees.[57]

The lack of basic reference compendia listing Crown chancery personnel and their functions makes the task of analyzing the chancery practices with regard to this series exceedingly difficult. There is not even a complete and accurate list of names and dates of the Crown chancellors and vice-chancellors.[58] Such data is essential for analyzing the record books involved, since the documents contained and the recorded copies were prepared for specific chancellors or vice-chancellors and the contents of different books reflect the interests and activities of the chancellors or vice-chancellors for whom they were prepared. A range of other chancery officials was also involved in the preparation and recording of documents in specific books; Crown secretaries, regents, notaries, scribes, and keepers of the seal were each responsible for specific functions. A relatively full list of Crown offices for the mid-seventeenth century is found in one of the Crown chancery manuals from that period, giving the names of many of the different officeholders, but with no explanation of their functions or dates of

no. 192—"B-2"), decrees were interspersed with privileges.

56 See the published register of original titles of documents in these books, *Metodicheskie rekomendatsii po ispol'zovaniiu dokumentov Litovskoi metriki XVI v. v kurse istochnikovedeniia otechestvennoi istorii (Regesty dokumentov aktovykh knig Litovskoi Metriki N 191–195)*, compiled by M. P. Koval's'kyi, H. V. Boriak, and [V. V. Strashko] (Dnipropetrovs'k, 1987). Despite the erroneous title, the books are from the Ruthenian series of the Crown Metrica, now held in TsGADA.

57 See fns. 31 and 32.

58 See the preliminary list with dates of chancellors and vice-chancellors for the period of the Ruthenian Metrica in appendix 3. The most complete, but still exceedingly rough and fragmentary, of earlier lists of Crown chancellors, vice-chancellors, and other Crown officeholders is that provided by Kasper Niesiecki, *Herbarz Polski*, ed. Jan Nepomucen Bobrowicz (Leipzig, 1839–1846; reprint edition, Warsaw, 1979), 1:341–45, 347–54. A new directory is in preparation at the Institute of History PAN in Warsaw, and several contributors were kind enough to share their preliminary data with me. Neither Niesiecki nor the new Polish files include data on the lesser chancery officials, namely, the Crown notaries.

service.[59] A few pertinent comments about Crown chancery functions from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century appear in a review and commentary subsequent to the 1960 reedition of the 1710 Latin chancery study by the Crown chancery official Reinhold Heidenstein (d. 1620).[60] The difficulties involved in analyzing chancery practices with respect to the Ruthenian series is demonstrated in a recent study of the function and career patterns of royal secretaries during the reign of Stefan Batory.[61] The study is only tangentially concerned with chancery practices relating to the Crown Metrica, but the fact that the author did not have access to the Ruthenian series in Moscow accounts for the absence of any mention of the Ruthenian notaries who, like their colleagues from central Polish Crown lands, also held the title and function of Crown *sekretarz*.

A trained chancery scribe or copyist (Ukr. *podpysok* or *pidpysok*; Pol. *podpisek*) usually prepared the document and the official recorded copy, and then the same or another scribe checked the text and added a formal title in chancery calligraphy above each document. The copyists are not named in the books of the Ruthenian series, although in one instance in 1609, a note by the responsible notary does in fact name the Ruthenian chancery copyist.[62] Several different hands were involved in many of the books, indicating the use of different scribes for different groups of documents. Also, in many of the books the more elaborate titles above the documents were obviously prepared by the same hand as the documents themselves—although usually in more elaborate calligraphy. (A full paleographic and diplomatic analysis of the Ruthenian books has not been attempted; such a study might help shed more light on actual chancery practices.)

A specific chancery official with the designation of notary (Latin, *notarius*; Pol. *pisarz*; Ukr. *pysar*) was always responsible for each book, or for each initial separate fascicle. In most books, the responsible notary is indicated either at the start of the bound volume or in subsequent

59 "Formularium cancellariae," APKr, IT 377, pp. 122–40.

60 Andrzej Tomczak, "Kilka uwag o kancelarii królewskiej w drugiej połowie XVI w. (Na marginesie nowego z r. 1960 wydania *Cancellarius sive de dignitate*... R. Heidensteina)," *Archeion* 37 (1962): 235–52. Professor Tomczak's analysis should be consulted in connection with the reedition of Heidenstein's text: *Cancellarius sive de dignitate et officio cancellarii Regnio Poloniae*, ed. A. Kempfi (Warsaw, 1960).

61 Leszek Kieniewicz, "Sekretariat Stefana Batorego i zbiorowość i kariery sekretarzy królewskich," *Społeczeństwo staropolskie* 4 (Warsaw 1980): 33–69. Since the preparation of his article, Kieniewicz has found references to the two major Ruthenian notaries in question, although he still has been unable to consult the original Ruthenian books in Moscow.

62 TsGADA, no. 204, fol. II: in this case the *podpysok* named was Hryhori Mashynskyi, who has not otherwise been identified.

explanatory titles added on the end papers or on added title pages. In many books, the notary responsible for verification of the text signed at the end of each document, as he had on the original charter or decree. For years in which relatively few documents were recorded, they may actually have been prepared and recorded by the notary himself. In some periods, the name of the responsible notary was simply copied in at the end of the document by the scribe, as it would have appeared on the charter or decree issued. Other recorded copies are not signed at all, although often the names of those whose seals were affixed to the documents appear within the copied text. The notary's signature almost always appeared on the original charter itself, so in the few cases in which the actual original documents survive, it is possible to verify the notaries involved. In many books of the Crown Metrica, the Ruthenian series included, the responsible notaries signed or initialed at the end of individual fascicles (usually at the end of a year), indicating their inspection and verification of the contents. This process may have taken place as the fascicles were prepared for binding.

Chancery practices varied according to changing circumstances—such as the demands of different kings and their chancellors, the current location, or the immediate chancery situation and available personnel—all of which are reflected in the often puzzling irregularities found in individual volumes. Indeed, practices in the Ruthenian books appear much less formalized than was the case in the corresponding main Latin books of the Crown Metrica. For this reason, they were more similar to the books of the Lithuanian Metrica.

Throughout the period of the Ruthenian series, a separate chancery official with the title of notary was responsible for verifying original outgoing documents from the Crown chancery and vice-chancery addressed to the Ukrainian palatinates and for the proper recording of copies in the Ruthenian Metrica books. Initially, there were two Ruthenian notaries; apparently, there were supposed to be two such officials who were thoroughly conversant with the Ruthenian language and legal traditions—one serving the chancellor and the other the vice-chancellor. For example, in 1606, the Kiev and Volhynian nobility, and, again in 1607, the Volhynian nobility, in instructions to their envoys to the Warsaw Sejm insisted that the appropriate function of "two Ruthenian notaries. . . to deal with the affairs of the palatinates of Kiev, Volhynia, and Bratslav" be upheld.[63] In fact, for

[63] "Pisarzowie dla Ruscy, przy dworze naszem, osiadle, przysiegle, byż maią którzy sprawy tych woiewodztw: kiiowskiego, wołyńskiego y bracławskiego, y miesckie w tych woiewodztwach odprawować, nie odstrzelaiać się od Statutu y zwyczaiów tych ziem, maią wszystkie sprawy, s podpisem swem, s kancellaryiey wydawać będą. A ieśli co przeciwko prawu wydadzą, tedy o to z osiadłości swey odpowiadać maią na Trybunale, inter causas

the first half-century following the Union of Lublin, from 1569 until 1629, there were usually two such officials. On occasion, however, there were more than two, as, for example, during the years 1588–1593 and 1598–1603, when we find two different Ruthenian notaries simultaneously serving the chancellor Jan Zamoyski while another served the vice-chancellor. For other years, there are gaps in the books for one or the other chancery, and it is not possible to determine if some fascicles are missing or if no Ruthenian notary was functioning.

The position of Ruthenian notary often provided a means for prominent Ruthenian representation within inner Crown chancery circles. There were four principal Ruthenian notaries from 1569 to 1652; seven other Ruthenians have been formally identified as serving in the post, but served briefer periods in the Crown chancery during the years prior to 1626. All of them were from the middle *szlachta*. Lavrin Hryhorovych Pisochyns'kyi (Pol. Laurenty, Ławryn, or Wawrzyniec, Piaseczyński; d. ca. 1603–1606) was the most distinguished individual to have served as Ruthenian notary.[64] From an old Ruthenian family, of origin in the Luts'k district, he was associated with seven books and a fragment of an eighth in the Ruthenian series during its first twenty-two years (to 1591), under the kings Sigismund Augustus, Henri Valois, Stefan Batory, and the early years of the reign of Sigismund III.[65] Only a single book in the Ruthenian series is attributable to Ievtyk Vasyl' Vysots'kyi (Pol. Eutyk Wyssocki; dates unknown), who served as notary for Ruthenian documents in the main chancery from 1569 through 1574.[66] Another member of the Vysots'kyi family, Iakym Vysots'kyi (Pol. Joachim Wyssocki; dates unknown), served in the

offitiey, którym pisarzom my, dla obecnego mieszkania przy dworze naszem, iurgielt dawać mamy, iako Pisarzom Wielkiego Xięstwa Litewskiego." The instructions were first dated 4.X.1606, "Artykuły woiewodztwo kiiowskiego y wołyńskiego, pod Sendomierzem uchwalone," and then incorporated into the instructions dated 27.III.1607, as recorded in the Luts'k castle-court book for 1607 (fols. 388–396). Published in *Arkhiv Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii* (hereafter *Arkhiv IuZR*), pt. 2, 1 (Kiev, 1861): 71–72.

64 See the biographical essay by Ewa Dubas-Urbanowicz in *PSB* 25: 805–808. His name is found in various forms in Polish (Piaseczyński, Piesoczyński, or Piasoczyński). Many of his services to the Crown are listed in a charter issued on his retirement (dated 1.IV.1603), recorded in book "M-12" (TsGADA, no. 202, fol. 169), but this document was apparently not available to his *PSB* biographer.

65 Book "A-1" (TsGADA, no. 191)—1569–1574; books "C-3"–"F-6" (TsGADA, nos. 193–96)—1574–1583; and "H-8"–"K-10" (TsGADA, nos. 198–200).

66 Book "B-2" (TsGADA, fond 389, no. 192). The Ruthenian branch of the Vysots'kyi family, principally from the Pinsk district but with some associations in Luts'k, was a relatively minor one amongst the Volhynia *szlachta*. Apparently the family had connections with Pisochyns'kyi, which may have helped in supporting various members at court. Other branches of the family were located in other parts of central Poland.

chancery of Jan Zamoyski and was responsible for two books with documents issued respectively during the years 1576–1583 and 1588–1593.[67]

A second prominent Ruthenian notary, Florian Semenovych Oleshko (Pol. Florian Oleszko; ca. 1565–1628), began his service at court under chancellor Jan Zamoyski. Oleshko came from an important family of Ruthenian origin, long associated with the Volhynian region.[68] He supervised six books in the Ruthenian series over the thirty-six years between 1583 and 1619. The third prominent Ruthenian notary, Zakharii Bozhenets' Ielovyts'kyi (Pol. Zachariasz Bozeniec Jełowicki; d. 1629), was also from a distinguished old Ruthenian family from Volhynia, who were large landowners in the Kremenets' region.[69] He first served as Ruthenian notary under the lay Crown chancellor Jan Zamoyski, while simultaneously serving several vice-chancellors. Appointed *sekretarz królewski* around 1607, he did not regularly serve as notary between 1606 and 1620, although he was involved in an inspection of earlier Ruthenian volumes in 1609.[70]

Until 1626 a series of different individuals from Ruthenian lands, who have been identified with the title of *pisarz*, assumed the role of the second Ruthenian notary on a shorter term or more temporary basis; several were responsible for one or two books, and others only for a major section within one of the extant volumes. Much less is known about these individuals than is known about the principle Ruthenian notaries, although, for many of them, their role at court also proved an important *entrée* into the ruling cir-

[67] Book "XD" (TsGADA, fond 389, no. 216) and book "KB." The 1627 list of main chancery books indicates Iakym Vysots'kyi as notary for two Ruthenian books. His name is found on the front paste-down endpaper of book "KB," and his signature appears with several documents in these two books. He held the title of *sekretarz królewski* at the time he was granted a village in the Slonim district in 1592, as recorded in the Lithuanian Metrica (see AGAD, SML VI, fol. 239).

[68] See the essay on Oleshko by Roman Żelewski in *PSB* 23: 758–59. Further biographical data on Oleshko and his service as envoy to the Crimean Tatar khanate is found in a privilege granted to him in 1611 (AGAD, MK 154, fols. 133–35).

[69] Ielovyts'kyi's family lineage and appointments are chronicled by Adam Boniecki, *Herbarz Polski: Wiadomości historyczno-genealogiczne o rodach szłacheckich*, 16 vols. (Warsaw, 1899–1914), 9:7, and in Seweryn Uruski and A. Kosiński, *Rodzina: Herbarz szlachtej polskiej*, 14 vols. in 9 (Warsaw, 1904–1917), 6:58.

[70] See, for example, his inscription at the end of the first four Ruthenian books—the last three dated 1609 (TsGADA, fond 389, nos. 191–194)—and later books bearing the present TsGADA numbers 197, 200, 204, and 217. Later binding restoration probably obscured the inscriptions in other books. Ielovyts'kyi's absence from the chancery may be explained by his appointment as Crown surveyor (*lustrator*) for Bratslav and Podolia in 1611 and for the Kiev palatinate in 1616 (see AGAD, MK 357, fol. 8–8v). Ielovyts'kyi's service in the Crown chancery in 1609 is seen in a document cited in fn. 75.

cles of the Commonwealth.[71] Under all of the Ruthenian notaries, until approximately 1620, the documents in the Ruthenian books were, with few exceptions, always recorded in Ruthenian. And, as far as can be determined, before the 1620s the documents recorded in the Ruthenian series were only entered there and were not repeated in other contemporary volumes of the Crown Metrica.[72] Also, prior to 1620, only a few scattered privileges addressed to the Ruthenian lands appear in the books of the main Latin series; those that appear in the Latin books are, for the most part, documents involving individuals residing in central Polish Crown lands.

Initially, the men who notarized the Ruthenian-language documents did not prepare documents inscribed in the Latin volumes of the Crown Metrica, nor did their Polish colleagues in the chancery usually service documents in the Ruthenian books. There were, to be sure, a few exceptions. In the Latin series book, MK 121, there are two documents dating from 1579/80, each with a scribe's note to the effect that they were translated for inclusion by Iakym Vysots'kyi.[73] A document in one of the Ruthenian books from 1609 is entered in Polish and notarized by one of the principal Polish notaries in the chancery of Feliks Szczęsny Kryski (1562–1618).[74] In that same year, a document in Latin appointing Jerzy Wisniewicki as castellan of Kiev, signed by the Ruthenian notary Zakharii Ielovyts'kyi, appears in a corresponding volume in the Latin series.[75]

Indeed, Kryski's period as chancellor (1613–1618) proved to be a turning point: Ian Martsynkevych (Pol. Jan Marcinkiewicz; of family origin in the Grand Duchy rather than in Ruthenian lands), the notary for Ruthenian documents who served Kryski, became in 1614, following his appointment as *sekretarz królewski* and *stolnik* of Upita, the first Ruthenian notary to notarize simultaneously documents in the main Latin books of the Crown Metrica.[76] Even more significantly, beginning in 1622, Feliks Khryshtofor

71 A more detailed discussion of all the Ruthenian notaries that functioned in the chancery before Hankiewicz will appear as part of my introduction to the Kiev publication of early inventories of the series.

72 A full analysis of this matter is still underway in connection with the preparation of a register of documents addressed to the Ruthenian palatinates found in the main books of the Crown Metrica, to be included in the forthcoming Kiev publication.

73 "Eadem inscriptio de verbo ad verbum in ruthenicam linguam translate et literis ruthenicis inscripte a Joachimo Wyssoczki cancellariae notario extradite est autentice iisdem" (AGAD, MK 121, p. 231 and p. 362). The documents are not found in extant Ruthenian books.

74 Biblioteka Kórnik MS 323, fol. 13–13v. The document is signed by Jan Kuczborski (ca. 1574–1614), a notary for other Latin books.

75 AGAD, MK 154, fol. 4–4v. The document is dated 26.I.1609.

76 Martsynkevych was the responsible notary for two Ruthenian books covering the period 1609–1617 for the chancery of Kryski. Beginning with Kryski's main chancery Latin series book for 1614–1615 (AGAD, MK 156), Martsynkevych's name is found as responsible notary

Makosii Bakovets'kyi (Pol. Feliks Krzysztof Mokosej Bakowecki; d. 1658), who served as Ruthenian notary responsible for an important volume with documents dating from 1616 until 1626 (book "V-19"), simultaneously serviced Latin and Polish documents in the main Crown books.[77]

After 1629, or, more precisely, with the appointment of Ian Bederman (often Benderman), who served until his death in 1652, the situation in the Crown chancery changed even further, and there is only evidence of a single Ruthenian notary specifically designated to handle Ruthenian documents.[78] Bederman was appointed with an apparently new title of notary for Ruthenian decrees (*pisarz dekretowy ruski*), yet he was also handling some of the Ruthenian privileges.[79] He was appointed mayor (*voit*) of Kremenets' in 1637[80] and mayor of Ovruts'k in 1645.[81] The date of Bederman's appointment is not available, but he was referred to as a "notary in the chancery" in a charter dated April 1629 that granted him possession of two synagogues, together with surrounding houses, orchards, and other lands in the town of Luts'k.[82] Furthermore, during his term of office, he regularly serviced a variety of other Latin and Polish privileges

for at least four documents (see, for example, fols. 226v–228v, fols. 345v–346, and fols. 366v–367).

77 Bakovets'kyi's Ruthenian book is held in TsGADA, fond 389, no. 209. Bakovets'kyi came from an old Ruthenian family in Volhynia. By the time he was appointed treasurer (*skarbnik*) of Volhynia in 1624 (TsGADA, fond 389, no. 209, fols. 376v–377v), he already held the titles of *sekretarz królewski* and *pisarz*. Bakovets'kyi later took monastic vows as a Basilian, with the name of Benedykt (Latin, Benedictus), and became the archimandrite of Zhydychyn Monastery in Volhynia after the death of his brother Józef (the Greek Catholic bishop of Volodymyr) in 1655. His service as notary for Latin documents in the Crown chancery is apparent in book MK 169, where his name is found as signatory for at least thirteen documents from 1622 and 1623. His name also appears as notary for at least eight documents from 1625 and 1626 in MK 173.

78 Bederman is mention by Boniecki, *Herbarz Polski* 1:144. Bederman's family origin and place of birth are not known, but his name itself is obviously not associated with Ruthenian traditions. His mother is identified as Anastatsia, an Orthodox name not used in the Roman Catholic Church, suggesting that his knowledge of Ruthenian may have come from her side of the family. Following the death of Ielovyts'kyi, Bederman was granted various mills in the palatinate of Kiev that earlier had belonged to his predecessor (TsGADA, fond 389, no. 211, fol. 105–105v).

79 In one document from 1630/31, he is referred to as having the title of Ruthenian metricant (*metrykant*) as well: "Pisarz dekretowy y metrykant nasza ruski," TsGADA, fond 389, no. 211, fol. 105. In other places his signature appears only with the title of judicial notary.

80 TsGADA, no. 219, fols. 49v–50. The charter is dated 19.V.1637.

81 TsGADA, no. 214, fols. 344v–345.

82 AGAD, MK 177, fols. 374v–375v. In the charter, King Sigismund III explains that the synagogues (one is subsequently referred to as a *keneset* for the Karaites) were constructed without royal authorization and hence were being disposed of by the Crown.

addressed to other parts of Poland in the main Crown Metrica books.[83] During this period as well, a variety of Crown chancery officials, who were also notarizing documents in the main Latin books of privileges, were notarizing privileges addressed to Ruthenian lands—both those recorded in the regular Crown Latin books and in the separate Ruthenian ones. Thus, after the death of Ielovyts'kyi at the end of 1629, the Ruthenian series, together with the function of Ruthenian notary, was losing its distinctiveness. As will be explained below, this situation had already begun around 1620 when, increasingly, more of the privileges addressed to Ruthenian lands were prepared in Polish and entered in the main Crown books and chancery officials notarizing Ruthenian privileges also were servicing other privileges for the Crown Metrica.

POLONIZATION AND THE DECLINE OF THE RUTHENIAN SERIES

The use of the Ruthenian language, together with the territorial, judicial, cultural, and religious identity of the palatinates of Volhynia, Bratslav, Kiev, and later Chernihiv, had been the primary determinant for a separate series of record books within the Crown Metrica to be kept for Ruthenian lands under the Commonwealth after 1569. The progressive polonization of the Ruthenian nobility in the early seventeenth century drastically affected chancery practices, as the linguistic common denominator of the Ruthenian series eroded. Although religious and judicial distinctions persisted and demands for a separate Ruthenian series of record books continued, with the erosion of the linguistic issue the practical need for a separate series became less pressing. Crown chancery practices with regard to the Crown Metrica reflected these developments and the formal distinctiveness of the Ruthenian series waned.

Studies of Volhynia and the adjoining palatinates of Kiev and Bratslav in this period have, for some time, been unanimous in demonstrating the increasing polonization of the Ruthenian nobility. Polish was in fact gradually replacing Ruthenian as the main language of economy, law, and adminstration in the Ukrainian palatinates. Evidence of this was shown in the 1930s, for example, in the perceptive studies by Antoine Martel[84] and

83 See, for example, AGAD, MK 180. Bederman's name appears (alternately as Benderman, or with an apostrophe over the 'e' indicating an abbreviated form) as notary for at least fifteen privileges in Latin and Polish during the three-year period (1633–1635) covered by that book. In this book, as in others in that period, the notary is not indicated for many of the documents.

84 Antoine Martel, *La langue polonaise dans les pays ruthènes: Ukraine et Russie Blanche, 1569–1667* (Lille, 1938) (= Travaux et Mémoires de l'Université de Lille, new series, Droit et Lettres, 20). See especially the discussion of chancery language usage in the first section, pp. 38–51. See also the French translation of some of the documents protesting the use of Pol-

Anna Dembińska.[85] More recent discussion of the language issue within the broader context of national consciousness is found in the Polish study by Teresa Chynczewska-Hennel.[86] The religious dimension in Ukrainian lands, with the increasing influence of the Roman Catholic Church, has been discussed in a more recent article by Henryk Litwin, and the more general nature of polonization among the *szlachta* in the Commonwealth has been outlined in a discussion by Janusz Tazbir.[87]

The increasing polonization was particularly apparent in legal and administrative usage. The decline of Ruthenian as the principle language of local courts and administration in many areas of Right-Bank Ukraine in the course of the early seventeenth century has been shown conclusively in a more thorough recent analysis by the Kiev historian Nataliia Iakovenko.[88] Following a careful analysis of extant local court record books, Iakovenko established revealing tables showing the declining percentage of Ruthenian entries in local castle- and land-court record books in the period 1600 to 1648. For example, she showed that the decline of Ruthenian entries was

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ish instead of Ruthenian, as presented by M. Tyszkiewicz, *Documents historiques sur l'Ukraine et ses relations avec la Pologne, la Russie et la Suède (1589–1764)* (Lausanne, 1919), vol. 1, p. 25.

85 Anna Dembińska, *Wpływy kultury polskiej na Wołyń w XVI wieku (w łonie warstwy szlacheckiej)* (Poznań, 1933) (=Prace Komisji Historycznej Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk, vol. 16).

86 Teresa Chynczewska-Hennel, *Świadomość narodowa szlachty ukraińskiej i Kozaczyzny od schyłku XVI do połowy XVII wieku* (Warsaw, 1985); see especially the chapter on the role of language (pp. 56–73). See the highly critical review article by Sławomir Gawlas and Hieronim Grala, "'Nie masz Rusi w Rusi.' W sprawie ukraińskiej świadomości narodowej w XVII wieku," *Przegląd Historyczny* 77, no. 2 (1986): 331–51, and Chynczewska-Hennel's reply, "'Ruś zostawić w Rusi.' W odpowiedzi Sławomirowi Gawlasowi i Hieronimowi Grali," *Przegląd Historyczny* 78, no. 3 (1987): 533–46, followed by a further retort by the reviewers, "'I na Rusi robić musi.' Teresie Chynczewskiej-Hennel w odpowiedzi," ibid., pp. 547–56. The controversy involved makes it the more regrettable that Chynczewska-Hennel's study does not have a broader source base, and that some of her textual references lack precision. See also her summary English-language article, "The National Consciousness of Ukrainian Nobles and Cossacks from the End of the Sixteenth to the Mid-Seventeenth Century," *HUS* 10, no. 3/4 (December 1986): 377–92.

87 Henryk Litwin, "Katolicyzacja szlachty ruskiej a procesy asymilacyjne na Ukrainie w latach 1569–1648," in *Triumfy i porażki. Studia z dziejów kultury polskiej XVI–XVIII w.*, ed. Maria Bogucka (Warsaw, 1989), pp. 48–73. See also the introductory article by Janusz Tazbir, "Procesy polonizacyjne w szlacheckiej Rzeczypospolitcj," ibid., pp. 9–45.

88 See N. N. Iakovenko, "O iazykovom sostave grodskikh i zemskikh knig pravoberezhnoi Ukrainy na protiazhenii XVII veka," in *Istoriograficheskie i istochnikovedcheskie problemy otechestvennoi istorii. Istochniki po sotsial'no-ėkonomicheskoi istorii Rossii i Ukrainy XVII–XIX vekov. Mezhvuzovskii sbornik nauchnykh trudov*, ed. M. P. Koval's'kyi et al. (Dnipropetrovs'k, 1983), pp. 64–72. See also Iakovenko's later article, "Zur Frage der Wechselwirkung zwischen lateinischer und kyrillischer Schrift in der Ukraine (Ende des 16.Jh. – 1.Hälfte des 17.Jh.)," *Scrittura e civilta* (Torino), 8 (1984): 8.

most pronounced in the Volhynian administrative center of Luts'k, where, for the decade 1611 to 1620, 91 percent of the entries were in Ruthenian, while by the period 1641–1648, that percentage had dropped to 43.5.[89]

The process of polonization of court records by the 1640s is also apparent in the records preserved from local dietines in Volhynia. By 1645 and 1646, the Volhynian dietine, noting the problems involved in official documentary communication with courts and other official institutions in other Crown lands due to the "difficulty of the Ruthenian language," was giving instructions to its envoys to the Sejm to petition for the authorization of official extracts from local court record books in Polish that, by earlier law, could only be issued in Ruthenian.[90] The Sejm agreed to this request, and, in an official resolution of 1647, it proclaimed that Ruthenian was no longer required for extracts of local castle- and land-court record books in the palatinate of Volhynia.[91] It is worth noting that even from the beginning of the seventeenth century, all of the published instructions from the dietines to their envoys to the Sejm appear in Polish.

Iakovenko presents a more detailed study of the significant polonization in local records during the period of war from 1649 to 1654: she has established separate figures for the castle-court inscription books in Luts'k and Volodymyr. During this period, in the cases of both courts, the books of decrees and so-called *potochnye* books remained almost entirely recorded in Ruthenian according to law (respectively 99 and 100 percent in Luts'k and 94 and 97 percent in Volodymyr). Yet, at the same time, for the inscription books (*zapisovye knigi*), in which documents from other sources were officially recorded for the local nobility, in 1649 33.5 percent of the inscriptions in Luts'k and 38.5 percent in Volodymyr were in Ruthenian. By 1656, use of Ruthenian in the official decree and *potochnye* books in Volodymyr had dropped to 50 percent and 21.5 percent respectively,

89 Iakovenko, "O iazykovom sostave," pp. 66–67.

90 *Arkhiv IuZR*, pt. 2, 1:308 (no. 45) and 1:330 (no. 34). The published documents from the dietine are entered in the record books of the Luts'k castle court. The first document, dated 7.I.1645, reads: "Iż niektórych z braciey sprawy, w koronnych grodach oras, z woiewodstwa naszego promouent characterem ruskim, którego wyczytać trudno, gwoli którym życzymy tego, aby polskim characterem extracty z xiąg naszych, in quolibet subselio koronnym y w trybunale ualor maiące, byli wydawane, y o to sie maią starać panowie posłowie nasi." The second is dated 13.IX.1646: "Do act ziemskich y grodzkich po ruski wpisywane aby byli, extracty aby po polsku byli wydawanę, a przez to aby ustali w trybunałach przepisy, constitutią cawere panowie posłowie będą."

91 See the constitution of the Sejm published in *Volumina Legum* 4:59 (no. 52): "Ponieważ rożni obywatele woiewództwa wołyńskiego skarżą się na to, że się errory w kancellaryach znayduią. . . ciż deputaci Statut Wołyński zkorrygowawszy, sumptem tegoż woiewodztwa do druku podać maią, a extrakty z kancellaryi woiewodztwa tegoż *idiomate Polonico* wydawać roskazuiemy."

although the *potochnye* books in Luts'k (no decree books are extant) were still recorded entirely in Ruthenian. For inscription books, the Ruthenian figure had dropped to only 17 percent in Luts'k, 7.5 percent in Volodymyr, and 1 percent in Kremenets'.[92]

Iakovenko was unable to extend her study to the records of the central Crown chancery records, but now her conclusions regarding linguistic usage can be corroborated by the Ruthenian Metrica, which reflected even stronger polonizing trends. Of particular note is the example of the senior Ruthenian notary, Zakharii Ielovyts'kyi (d. 1629), who, after an absence of fourteen years, again served in the Crown chancery starting in 1620. The contrast in linguistic usage between his two periods of service is striking: earlier books prepared under the direction of Ielovyts'kyi during the years 1598–1606 were exclusively in Ruthenian,[93] yet when Ielovyts'kyi resumed his service as Crown notary in 1620, Polish was already being used with much greater regularity for privileges, and the linguistic situation with regard to legal decrees was also in flux.

During the years 1616 through 1626, for example, throughout the entire volume "V-19" prepared by Bakovets'kyi, all of the 179 legal decrees are recorded in Ruthenian, except for two in 1620 in which the initial and concluding protocols are in Ruthenian and the main document is in Polish.[94] Starting in 1626, however, a number of legal decrees recorded in Ielovyts'kyi's book "W-20" were presented in Polish. Of particular note in this connection are the initial seven decrees recorded in Polish for 1626, for which Ielovyts'kyi added a scribe's note on the verso of the title page, commenting on the practice "not following law" by which some Ruthenian decrees were being "written in Polish or Latin" and were being "inscribed in the Latin Metrica books" when they should have been written in Ruthenian and recorded in the Ruthenian books.[95] Subsequent legal decrees in the next fascicles for which Ielovyts'kyi was responsible, including all

92 Iakovenko, "O iazykovom sostave," pp. 69–70. Iakovenko explains that all types of books have not been preserved in all cases, but her careful statistics leave no doubt about the general picture of local court language usage.

93 See TsGADA, fond 389, no. 202 ("M-12") and no. 204 ("O-14").

94 TsGADA, fond 389, no. 209.

95 TsGADA, fond 389, no. 210, fol. II: "A yzh tak malo sprav tykh y nekotorye pysmom polskym albo latynskym pyshut y v metryku latynskuiu ne nalezhne opysuiut, protyv prava [a poriadku zemskoho y zvychaiu davnomu] to na praven'iu slushnym sposobom, mesttsem y chasom starshykh zostavaet." See the seven decrees that follow, fols. 1–18. The scribe's note, initialed by Ielovyts'kyi, is probably from the same date as the documents, since the book starts with an original title page dated 1626.

decrees through the year 1628, are recorded in Ruthenian,[96] as were all of the legal decrees recorded in the subsequent book "X-21" from Ielovyts'kyi's final year in office.[97]

The linguistic situation with regard to privileges in the Ruthenian books changed much more radically than was the case with legal decrees. Already in the Ruthenian book "S-17," covering the years 1613–1619, scattered privileges in Polish begin appearing in 1615.[98] In book "V-19," prepared by the Ruthenian notary Khryshtofor Bakovets'kyi, 40 percent of the approximated 154 privileges dating from 1616 through 1626 appear in Polish.[99] The overwhelming concentration of Polish privileges came in 1620 and 1621, when almost all of the privileges recorded were for the newly annexed Novhorod-Siveria region, which would not have come under the earlier agreement whereby Crown documents were to be issued in Ruthenian.[100] Figures for privileges in Polish were lower for subsequent years.[101] The same pattern is seen in book "T-18," under the more prominent Ruthenian notary, Ielovyts'kyi, for the years 1620–1623, in which over half of the privileges were recorded in Polish (but, again, many of those were for the Chernihiv region).[102] In Ielovyts'kyi's two later Ruthenian books, dating from the years 1626 through 1629, all privileges were again officially recorded in Ruthenian. There were, however, only eight privileges from 1626 through 1628 in book "W-20,"[103] and only two privileges from 1629 in "X-21," the last book for which Ielovyts'kyi was responsible before his death.[104]

Even more striking, an increasing number of privileges addressed to or pertaining to the Ukrainian palatinates were recorded in the main books of the Crown Metrica, mostly in Polish and, to a lesser extent, in Latin. Changes in chancery practices with respect to the notaries involved with

96 TsGADA, fond 389, no. 210, fols. 22–99. Later in the volume, one signed legal decree from 1628 is entered in Polish and an additional nine legal decrees in Polish from 1628 were added in a separate fascicle at the end of the volume (see TsGADA, fond 389, no. 210, fols. 135–138 and 148 [155]–156 [163]).

97 TsGADA, fond 389, no. 211 ("X-21"), fols. 1–54.

98 TsGADA, fond 389, no. 207.

99 TsGADA, fond 389, no. 209.

100 After the annexation of Smolensk and Novhorod-Siveria in 1618, documents issued for the northern part of that area were inscribed in books of the Lithuanian Metrica, while some of the documents from southern parts of the region were inscribed in the Ruthenian series and others in the main Latin books of the Crown Metrica.

101 Four of twenty-three for 1623 were in Polish; only one of eleven for 1624; two of nine for 1625; and none of the three issued in 1626.

102 TsGADA, fond 389, no. 208.

103 TsGADA, fond 389, no. 210, passim.

104 TsGADA, fond 389, no. 211 [X-21], fols. 26–27.

Ruthenian documents had begun earlier, in the chancery of Feliks Kryski. The rate of such changes accelerated during the vice-chanceries of Andrzej Lipski (1618–1620) and Wacław Leszczyński (1620–1625), when, following the annexation of the lands of Chernihiv and Novhorod-Siveria in 1618, there was a surge of privileges granting offices and land in the newly annexed territories to those who served the Crown in the successful wars. The number of privileges in the main metrica books rose to a high of fifty documents for 1621 in a single volume (MK 165), virtually all recorded in Polish. In fact, more documents for the Chernihiv and Novhorod-Siveria areas were recorded in the main Crown inscription books than in the Ruthenian series. In many cases, those entries in the Crown books were privileges for inhabitants in central Polish lands who were granted lands or offices in the newly annexed lands, but a precise differentiation is difficult to establish. The Crown chanceries were so busy that there was apparently little time for concern about the book in which the documents were recorded or which particular chancery official notarized each privilege and recording.

The inscription of privileges for all the Ruthenian palatinates in the main metrica books continued to rise during the 1620s. By 1625 there were, on an annual basis, at least thirty-seven (or approximately four times as many) privileges addressed to the Ruthenian palatinates in the main Crown books as in the Ruthenian series. The figure was at least twenty-eight in 1628—over ten times as many as in Ielovyts'kyi's Ruthenian book, in which only two Ruthenian privileges were recorded for that year. Even more surprising, in 1628 and 1629 four privileges addressed to Volhynia were recorded in the Ruthenian language in the main Crown books rather than in the Ruthenian volume.[105] Clearly, the Ruthenian Metrica was no longer serving a major function with respect to privileges addressed to Ruthenian lands. A more detailed analysis of the Ruthenian-related privileges in all of the books of the Crown Metrica for this period still needs to be completed before more definitive statistics and conclusions can be reached.[106] Ielovyts'kyi's scribe's note in 1626 was symptomatic of a much broader

[105] See, for example, AGAD MK 176, fols. 172v–173, 186v, 196v and MK 177, fols. 448–50v, among others.

[106] A preliminary register of privileges in the main Crown Metrica addressed or pertaining to the Ruthenian palatinates is being compiled in AGAD and will be included in the forthcoming Kiev publication of early inventories of the Ruthenian series. Given the much larger than anticipated number of privileges involved, together with the fact that all the nineteenth-century summary registers of the Crown Metrica in AGAD were destroyed during World War II, a statistical analysis could not be completed in time for inclusion with this article. The task of analysis and comparison will be easier when the new AGAD register is finished and a more accurate and detailed list of documents is available.

development, and his efforts to correct the situation were to little avail.

The low status of the Ruthenian books within the Crown Metrica complex during this period is also reflected in their bindings. Official books of privileges and other inscriptions in the main Crown Metrica were all bound in high-quality leather, with elaborate roll-stamped top and bottom covers, usually with the coats-of-arms of the king and/or chancellor for whom the book was prepared, and with identifying titles of the contents stamped in gilt. Although the bindings of many of the Crown books have been partially rebound or substantially repaired in subsequent centuries—often with new leather spines and reinforced corners or edges—most of the original leather covers have been retained, in whole or in part, in the restored binding. Many of the early volumes of the Ruthenian series in the period through 1612 have the same type of elegant royal leather bindings, some with substantial restoration from the eighteenth century.[107] Beginning with the twentieth book (dating from 1613 through 1617), however, the subsequent six books—with one exception—extending through the 1620s, were all bound in vellum, similar to the bindings found for books of protocols (i.e., drafts) or other volumes of lesser status within the Crown Metrica complex.[108]

The linguistic situation, with regard to Ruthenian documents and the general situation of the Ruthenian Metrica, declined further in the 1630s and 1640s. Ian Bederman (often Benderman) was the last official notary to prepare documents in the Ruthenian language for the Crown chancery, but by this period Ruthenian was being used, even within the Ruthenian books, primarily for legal decrees only. During the period 1631–1652 Bederman was involved with what are now three Ruthenian books and parts of two others, but, according to Hankiewicz's inventory notes and to notes within the books themselves, at least two of the full books were put together later and parts recopied under Hankiewicz's tutelage. As presently bound and arranged, those two books do not follow a chronological sequence; the fact that they were bound in parchment further confirms their status as less than

107 See a few examples of metrica bindings from the early seventeenth century in my article in *HUS* 11, no. 3/4 (December 1987): 517–20 (figs. 6–9). No descriptions of the bindings of the Crown Metrica volumes have been prepared, although they certainly deserve attention. No literature about the royal bindings after Sigismund Augustus is available; even the Crown Metrica books of his reign have not been included in the substantial literature on his library and its examples of elegant bindings.

108 Books with TsGADA numbers 206, 208, and 211 all retain their original parchment bindings. Books 207 and 210 were rebound in the eighteenth century in unadorned calf with a narrow scalloped roll stamped around the edges—with no vestiges of earlier leather covers. Hankiewicz's description of their bindings as "red," with no mention of leather, would suggest that they were originally bound in vellum similar to those he so described.

finished official metrica books. The exceedingly large green vellum-bound book ''Z-23'' comprises several different fascicles, of which the first few—with documents from the years 1633–1635—precede those in the quality leather-bound book ''XC'' (1635–1641) and the final fascicles—containing drafts or copies of documents from 1643 and 1645–1647—follow later.[109]

From the documents that remain, Ruthenian apparently continued to be used for recording most of the legal decrees pertaining to the Ruthenian palatinates. These continued to be recorded in separate Ruthenian books during Bederman's term of office from 1631 to 1652. In a few instances decrees or other documents issued by the court in Latin or Polish were recorded with initial and concluding protocols in Ruthenian. There are gaps in extant Ruthenian decrees, however, for the years 1630, 1632, 1642, 1644, and 1648 through 1651. Seven decrees from 1652, all reportedly notarized by Bederman, are recorded in Ruthenian at the beginning of Hankiewicz's book ''SB-24.''[110] These are the last extant decrees in the Ruthenian language in the Crown Metrica, evidence that the exclusive use of Ruthenian was fading rapidly.

During Bederman's term of office, even while the official copies of most legal decrees were being officially recorded in the Ruthenian language, drafts, or official copies, were being prepared in Polish. The identification of one of the three Bederman volumes, the 1637–1641 volume ''BX-25,'' as a collection of Polish-language drafts left by Bederman sheds considerable light on chancery language usage for legal documents during the period.[111] As determined from a preliminary comparison of the titles and dates involved, all but a few of the decrees and other legal documents in Polish included in this volume are repeated—although not in the same order—in more finished Ruthenian copies in the book designated as ''XC.'' The existence of these Polish copies show that already in this period legal decrees from the Sejm court were being prepared in Polish even as official

[109] TsGADA, fond 389, no. 214.

[110] Now TsGADA, fond 389, no. 220. These decrees were apparently copied later when Hankiewicz started the last Ruthenian book in question. Only the first is signed by Bederman, but the signature does not correspond to his earlier signature.

[111] Book ''BX-25'' bears the TsGADA number 215. Hankiewicz identified the volume, which still retains its original vellum binding, as having been ''put together under his care and expense from drafts (*manualow*),'' and claimed to be responsible for its being put in order and bound. See the note at the beginning of Hankiewicz's summary register of the volume in his ''Index,'' AGAD, TzwML VIII.1, fol. 84. In fact, the documents contained are all rendered in clean copies, suggesting that if they had been ''drafts,'' they were recopied for inclusion.

copies were entered in the record books in Ruthenian translation.[112] The use of Polish for legal documents is also confirmed in the case of the extant decrees from 1647, which are now preserved only in Polish copies, as the final fascicle of book "Z-23."[113] These appear to be the same type of unsigned drafts similar to the earlier ones in the book "BX," but possibly many of them had been recopied into their present form under Hankiewicz's tutelage.[114] Hankiewicz had listed an additional book of judicial protocols from the years 1643 through 1646 in his "Synopsis," but the fate of this book is unknown and there is no indication of the language used.[115]

Again, the distinctive position and language usage of the Ruthenian series changed even more radically in the case of charters of privilege and other inscriptions than was the case with legal decrees. In fact, with few exceptions, Polish was used for the official recording of all but two of the twenty-two privileges inscribed in the Ruthenian books that were issued in the years 1631 (books "X-21"and "W-20"), as well as the large numbers for the years 1633–1635 (book "Z-23") and the scattered privileges from the years 1636–1641 that appear in book "XC." By 1645, all of the seventeen privileges in book "Z-23" were recorded in Polish.[116] Furthermore, no charters of privilege or other inscriptions at all have been preserved in the Ruthenian series for the years 1641–1644 and 1646–1652.

Many more privileges relating to the Ruthenian palatinates appear in the Latin books of the Crown Metrica in the 1630s, continuing the trend seen in the 1620s. Even in 1635, when there was a high for the decade of thirty-three privileges in the extant Ruthenian book "Z-23," a total of at least sixty privileges pertaining to Ukrainian lands appear in the main Crown Metrica books MK 180, MK 181, and MK 182. Interestingly, for that year there is an extant fascicle of draft privileges preserved with the Crown Metrica in AGAD that, except for two of the privileges, precisely matches the more finished copies of privileges preserved in the Ruthenian book "Z-

112 It should also be noted that there are approximately ninety additional legal documents and charters of privilege in "XC" that are not found in "BX," suggesting that some fascicles of Polish versions were not preserved, or were not also prepared in Polish. Further textological comparison of the two volumes is needed.

113 See book "Z-23" (TsGADA, fond 389, no. 214 [original fols. 557–583]).

114 Officially signed Ruthenian copies of these decrees have not been preserved, and there are no extant books of the Ruthenian series with documents from the years 1648–1651.

115 See fn. 32.

116 TsGADA, fond 389, no. 214, fols. 323–346v (originally 412–458).

23.''[117] The existence of this fascicle of drafts demonstrates that the specific privileges intended for entry in the Ruthenian books at this time were still being kept separately in the chancery.

Still puzzling, however, is the rationale behind the designation of privileges for the Ruthenian or for the Latin series. For example, one Crown Metrica book of privileges from the vice-chancery of Piotr Gembicki contains an *oblata* of a fifteenth-century charter issued for Kievan Metropolitan Isydor, which also does not appear in ''XC'' and which is in Ruthenian with a Polish translation.[118] Even more puzzling, Adam Kysil's appointment in 1639 as castellan of Chernihiv is recorded only in the main Crown inscription book, yet his 1633 appointment as vice-chamberlain (*podkomorz*) of Chernihiv was recorded only in Bederman's book ''Z-23.''[119] The rationale behind such registration discrepancies may simply reflect the very fluid and often *ad hoc* documentary recordings and the wishes or pressures of the individuals involved. Quite appropriately, privileges for individuals whose origins or whose principle residences were in areas served by the main series of the Crown Metrica would have been recorded there, as would privileges that cut across geographic bounds. Some individuals undoubtedly took special pains to have their privileges recorded in the more official main Crown inscription books, even though the privileges would have involved the Ruthenian lands, whereas individuals eager to defend the Ruthenian cause might have insisted on a Ruthenian recording. Obviously, there were many different factors at play amidst still relatively unformalized chancery practices. Most significantly, by this period the Ruthenian books alone did not contain many of the most important privileges being addressed to the central Ruthenian lands and, therefore, do not in and of themselves reflect Crown activities pertaining to these areas.

The general lack of extant Ruthenian fascicles from the 1640s suggests either that there are major gaps in the records preserved or that Ruthenian privileges were no longer being kept separately. Yet, the fact that a significant Ruthenian fascicle with seventeen privileges remains for 1645 suggests that a serious attempt was at least being made to preserve the

117 AGAD, MK 354. A further comparison of the texts is still in order. This book of protocols had not previously been identified with the Ruthenian series and had not been labelled as such by Hankiewicz, although it is possible that it is one of the Bederman fascicles he referred to in his ''Synopsis,'' fol. 20v.

118 AGAD, MK 182, fols. 179–181v (original date: 27.VIII.6948 [1440]). The initial and concluding protocols are in Latin.

119 Compare AGAD, MK 185, fols. 221–222 (1.XII.1639) and TsGADA, fond 389, no. 214, fol. 47.

distinct series, even if only in Polish.[120] Be that as it may, the existence of this separate fascicle for 1645 must be viewed in the context of contemporaneous books of the main Crown series—particularly since the two main books from the chancery of Jerzy Ossoliński contain a total of forty-two documents from that year, or more than double the number of documents found in Bederman's Ruthenian volume.[121] With the start of the Khmel'nyts'kyi uprising and the Cossack wars in the late 1640s, the maintenance of a separate Ruthenian series appears to have been forgotten; there are virtually no privileges extant in Ruthenian books for the years 1646 through 1652 (the year of Bederman's death). At the same time, a large number of privileges addressed to the Ruthenian palatinates continued to be recorded in the main Latin books. In 1649, for example, a total of forty-seven privileges directly pertaining to Ruthenian lands were recorded in two separate Crown Metrica books of the Latin series, one of which also contained an additional ten relevant privileges dated 1650.[122] Over three-quarters of these privileges were recorded in Polish, while the remaining ones in Latin, or partially in Latin, jointly involved individuals from other areas outside the Ukrainian palatinates, including the palatinates of Podolia and Halych.

With this shift of linguistic usage to Polish, and with the recording of more privileges in the main Latin books, the traditional role of the official Ruthenian notary was being drastically modified in practice. Besides, as mentioned earlier, during Bederman's period in office (1631 through 1652), there is no evidence of a second regular official Ruthenian notary handling privileges. And what is more, many of the privileges and other documents being prepared in Polish were being notarized by a variety of other chancery officials. Some of these men were of Volhynian background, but others were from parts of Poland other than the Ruthenian palatinates, and all of them were simultaneously notarizing documents being recorded in the main Latin books.[123] Significantly, Bederman's official title was *pisarz dekretowy ruski*—with specific reference to his judicial function, and essentially only legal decrees were being recorded in Ruthenian books in the Ruthenian language. The persistence of this practice undoubtedly reflects the continued differences in legal traditions under the Lithuanian statutes.

[120] TsGADA, fond 389, no. 214, fols. 323–346v (originally 412–458).

[121] According to a preliminary search, MK 189 contains eighteen documents dating from 1645 and MK 190 an additional fourteen.

[122] AGAD, MK 191 and MK 192, passim.

[123] More details about these men will appear in my introduction to the forthcoming Kiev publication of registers mentioned above.

Such developments with regard to Ruthenian chancery officials were not pleasing to the Ruthenian nobility, who continued to insist that Ruthenian notaries in the Crown chancery be of their own ranks. In the 1638 instructions from the Luts'k dietine to its representatives to the Sejm, the Ruthenian nobility defended the right that "the Ruthenian Metrica be serviced by nobles of these palatinates, who know the law written in Ruthenian. . . ."[124] The Ruthenian nobility apparently received no satisfaction to their complaint, for there is no evidence of another Ruthenian appointment after that date. It was twenty years before there was any real attempt to revive the Ruthenian series for privileges and, by then, linguistic usage had shifted to Polish, even for legal decrees.

It was a small step from the declining situation of the Ruthenian series as described in the 1620s and 1630s to the total absorption of that series during the subsequent decades of the Cossack uprising and the war with Sweden. The Ruthenian nobility may not have been content with the situation under Bederman, but, after his death in 1652, the use of the Ruthenian language in the Crown Metrica ceased completely. There was only one final book of a separate Ruthenian series covering the entire period from 1653 to 1673.

HANKIEWICZ AND THE END OF THE RUTHENIAN SERIES (1653–1673)

As long as the distinctive series of books for Ukrainian lands existed, it reflected a degree of administrative autonomy and encouraged a separate sense of identity for the region. Such conditions did not survive the revolutionary events and military campaigns of the mid-seventeenth century. As a result of the Khmel'nyts'kyi uprising and the postwar settlements, many of the Ruthenian lands involved were no longer effectively governed by the Crown chancery. In the Pereiaslav Treaty of 1654, all of the Ruthenian lands were claimed by Muscovy, although their status remained unresolved for several decades. The city of Kiev and its environs on the Right Bank and the less-polonized Left-Bank areas of the palatinates of Kiev and Chernihiv were incorporated into the new Cossack Hetmanate. Although the Crown continued to appoint palatines and other offices for Kiev and

[124] The document drawn from a 1638 record book of the Luts'k castle court is published in *Arkhiv IuZR*, pt. 2, 1:238. The original text reads: "A że to, ex multis necessarijs rationibus, expedit woiewództwu naszemu, aby przy metrice ruskiey był ślachcic tych woiewództw, które prawa swe, charakterem ruskim pisane, maią a do tego posessionatus, starać sie ich mość panowie posłowie nasze maią, aby ten zostawał, ktorego bracia podadzą, przy którym metryki maią być, y decreta czterech woiewództw on pisać y expediować ma: kiiowskie, wołyńskie, brasławskie, czernihowskie."

Chernihiv well into the eighteenth century, the appointments were purely honorary.

The pattern seen developing earlier in the chancery practices with respect to the Ruthenian record books clearly reflected broader trends. Crown policy after the Khmel'nyts'kyi uprising further reflected the degree of polonization of much of the Ruthenian elite in Volhynia and other areas of Right-Bank Ukraine. Although Kiev and the less-polonized Left Bank turned their focus to the Ukrainian Hetmanate, most of the Right-Bank lands remained under Crown administration after the Pereiaslav Treaty of 1654. But the use of Ruthenian in documents for the area from the Crown chancery ceased completely. Linguistic polonization of the Ruthenian elite had been essentially accomplished by mid-century. There was no need, therefore, to continue distinctions with regard to linguistic use in chancery recordkeeping that might have helped preserve a separate Ukrainian identity.

Stefan Kazimierz Hankiewicz had a particularly close association with the Ruthenian series since he himself served as a Crown secretary and judicial notary (*pisarz dekretowy*) in the Crown chancery for Volhynian documents. Yet, Hankiewicz's period and function in office with respect to the Ruthenian record books clearly demonstrates the policy of concluding the series and his own primary role in carrying out this policy. The last book of the Ruthenian series coincides precisely with his term in office as Ruthenian notary.[125] The concluding date of 1673 for the separate Ruthenian series corresponds to the end of Hankiewicz's chancery service and also to the date of preparation of Hankiewicz's register of the entire series. The correspondence appears not to be coincidental.

The official document of Hankiewicz's appointment as Ruthenian notary and his oath of office—both in Polish and neither of them signed—dated 8 April 1653, are recorded in that last volume of the Ruthenian series.[126] These two documents were most likely recorded later, when the book was restarted in late 1658. Following Hankiewicz's appointment, however, there is no evidence of his activity in the chancery, except for two legal decrees recorded from 1654. Otherwise, there is a gap until July 1658, with the more regular recording of documents in the separate Ruthenian book starting only in 1659.[127]

125 TsGADA, fond 389, no. 220 (earlier signature "SB-24").

126 TsGADA, fond 389, no. 220, fols. 13–14. See the draft and later confirmation of his appointment cited in fn. 137.

127 Possibly, this fascicle was begun earlier and then simply abandoned until 1658. There is a scribe's note at the top outside of folio 19v, "Po woynie szwedziey," and the 1658 entry begins with a different hand.

The Ruthenian book "SB-24" as it exists today is a hybrid volume, to say the least, and atypical of the rest of the series. Most likely the book as presently constituted was restarted in 1658 when Hankiewicz also assumed the office of notary for the Latin books of the main Crown chancery. It is, of course, possible that other Ruthenian fascicles from the period 1648 through 1658 did not survive, yet Hankiewicz does not mention such a loss. It is also possible that, during that period of war and invasion, a new volume (or loose fascicles) would have been taken by the chancellor to his estate, or kept separately when, in 1655, the rest of the Crown Metrica was taken as booty from Warsaw to Sweden by the Swedish invaders. There is, however, no similar gap in documentation in the main (Latin) series of the Crown Metrica. In fact, there are nine extant official books and at least thirteen other volumes of protocols, containing privileges and other Crown documents issued during the years 1652 to 1658.[128]

In all likelihood, after 1646 chancery officials did not bother to keep a separate volume for privileges and decrees addressed to the Ruthenian palatinates during the continuing period of Cossack wars and Swedish invasion. This seems a reasonable explanation when one realizes the extent to which privileges relating to Ruthenian areas were being recorded in the regular Latin books of the Crown Metrica. We cannot know for certain what was happening with legal decrees, aside from the five Ruthenian ones from 1652 and the two from 1654 in book "SB-24," but royal privileges for the Ruthenian palatinates were not being entered there. For the period from 1653 to July 1658, for example, at least eight privileges from 1653, fifteen from 1654, one from 1655, ten from 1656, and three from 1658 were entered in the main Crown inscription books prepared for Koryciński and Trzebicki.[129] Notaries other than Hankiewicz were officiating, since

[128] AGAD, MK 189–197 (finished books) and MK 198–200, MK 360–363, MK 368, and MK 390–392 (protocols). See the annotated listings of books prepared for the chancellors and vice-chancellors Jerzy Ossoliński, Andrzej Leszczyński, Stefan Koryciński, and Andrzej Trzebicki in *Inwentarz MK.* Also listed (p. 85) are two books of protocols held with the papers of another Crown notary, Hieronim Pinocci (1613–1676), in Cracow (APKr, IT 374 and IT 375).

[129] In a preliminary listing, three privileges from 1653 appear in MK 194 (pp. 16–17, 43, 55–56); and five appear in MK 195 (pp. 13–14, 23–29). From the year 1654, one privilege (in this case pertaining to Chernihiv) appears in MK 194 (pp. 180–81); four privileges appear in MK 195 (pp. 34–38, 109–11, and 121–23), and seven appear in MK 196 (fols. 10v–11, 17v, 36–37v, 40v, 56v–57, 66–67, 80v–81v, 83v–84, and 105–105v). One privilege from 1655 appears in MK 196 (fols. 98–99). For 1656, three privileges appear in MK 194 (pp. 232–35, 248–58), and seven drafts appear in MK 200 (fols. 12v–13v, 15–15v, 24–29). Finally, for 1658 (before Hankiewicz's appointment to the main chancery in July), three appear in MK 196 (fols. 142v–144v). Additional drafts appear in the Cracow books and other AGAD books of protocols. A more complete register of these and other privileges will appear in the

Hankiewicz was not involved with the main chancery books before July of 1658 and did not prepare privileges in the chanceries of Koryciński and Trzebicki.

Political developments following the Hadiach Agreement in mid-September 1658 brought a revival of interest in the Ruthenian series. The agreement called for a separate Rus' Principality (or Grand Duchy) within the Commonwealth, comprising the Ukrainian lands of the palatinates of Kiev, Bratslav, and Chernihiv, with considerable autonomy to the Cossack elite and the recognition of Ruthenian religious, cultural, and other national interests.[130] Volhynia was not included in the Rus' Principality, but there, too, toleration for Orthodoxy was guaranteed (as it was throughout the Commonwealth), and the earlier judicial traditions were not revoked. Although the terms of the Hadiach Agreement did not specifically provide for a separate series of record books, a separate chancery with its own chancellor would have been essential to the new principality. Such a chancery was never created, but it again appeared appropriate to keep a separate Ruthenian book for outgoing documents, as had been established earlier as a traditional Ruthenian right.

Although Hankiewicz may have held the post of Ruthenian notary, he was even further away from the traditional position than Bederman. Unlike any of his predecessors, he served simultaneously as one of the primary notaries for the main Latin series of the Crown Metrica. Hankiewicz was appointed as notary in the main Crown Metrica chancery in July 1658. The initial volume of inscription books for which he was responsible (MK 201) contains a shortened form of his Latin oath of office.[131] Whereas there was only one Ruthenian book from his entire period in office, Hankiewicz was responsible for a total of eight large books of privileges and other Crown documents in the main series of the Crown Metrica for the years 1658 to 1673.[132] For the first time since the Ruthenian series began in 1569, there

forthcoming Kiev publication.

130 The full text of the Treaty of Hadiach, dated 6/16.IX.1658, is printed as an appendix to the article by Mykola Stadnyk, "Hadiats'ka uniia," in *Zapysky Ukrains'koho naukovoho tovarystva v Kyivi* 7 (1910): 65–85, and 8 (1911): 5–39, *dodatok*, pp. 30–39, from the text in the Czartoryski Library MS 402, fols. 282–292. See also the recording of the approval of the commission to implement the Hadiach agreement and related documents in *Volumina Legum* 4: 297–302.

131 AGAD, MK 201, fol. a1v (verso of the title page). Hankiewicz's Latin oath of office, dated 28 July 1658, as *secretariatu et notariatu decretorum* makes reference to his earlier oath of office, presumably the one found in the Ruthenian series volume "SB-24" (TsGADA, no. 220).

132 Books for which Hankiewicz was the responsible notary include those now held in AGAD under the numbers MK 201–MK 203 (1658–1665) and MK 205–MK 209 (1666–1673). See *Inwentarz MK*, pp. 85–93.

was no separate Ruthenian notary, and that situation was reflected in chancery practices.

Hankiewicz's apppointment to the main chancery further coincides with the return of the court to Warsaw and the assumption of office in July 1658 of a new vice-chancellor, Mikołaj Jan Prażmowski (1617–1673), who, towards the end of August, became chancellor.[133] Hankiewicz was most active in the main chancery during the period that Prażmowski was chancellor; all of Hankiewicz's main chancery books through 1666 were prepared specifically for Prażmowski, rather than for the vice-chancellor.[134] Prażmowski served as Roman Catholic bishop of Luts'k, and, perhaps coincidentally, the first and only privilege in book "'SB" from 1658 is a reconfirmation of a 1633/1638 charter for the town of Luts'k. Yet the appointment of the archimandrate of the Basilian Zhydychyn monastery in Volhynia in July 1658 was entered in Hankiewicz's first book in the main Crown Metrica rather than in book "SB-24."[135]

Similar to the Ruthenian book "SB-24," the first main Crown Metrica volume with which Hankiewicz was associated as notary (MK 201) contains a number of earlier documents that were officially rerecorded. These include recorded copies (*oblata*) of two charters of privilege issued to Hankiewicz himself in 1650 and 1651, the first appointing him sheriff and granting him land in the village of Krzypy (Liw *starosta*) in Mazovia, and the second granting him proceeds of a mill and surrounding land in the same village.[136] At that time, as these documents note, he was serving as notary for the queen. Later, there is also a copy (*oblata*) of his 1653 oath of office as Volhynian judicial notary.[137] Another charter of privilege grants

133 Prażmowski assumed the post of vice-chancellor on 21 July 1658, a week before Hankiewicz's appointment, and Prażmowski then became chancellor a month later, on 22 August 1658. He held the post until 21 December 1666, when he became bishop (primate) of Gniezno. See the biographical article in *PSB* 28: 382–89.

134 AGAD, MK 201–MK 203 (1658–1665). From the books available, Hankiewicz was not preparing documents for the new vice-chancellor, Bogusław Leszczyński (ca. 1612–1659), *starosta* general of Greater Poland, who died in office on 23 September 1659, or Jan Leszczyński (1603–1678), who assumed the title of *starosta* general of Greater Poland, and became vice-chancellor on 15 May 1661 (see *PSB* 17: 115–19). See the separate book MK 204 (1661–1666) prepared for Leszczyński by the notary Hieronim Pinocci.

135 AGAD, MK 201, fol. 6 (30.VII.1658).

136 AGAD, MK 201, fols. 31v–32—an *oblata* of the 1650 charter (9.XII.1650); and fols. 32–32v—an *oblata* of the 1651 charter (20.II.1651). The latter is repeated a second time later (fols. 161v–162). See also the draft in MK 393, fol. 26v.

137 A copy (*oblata*) of that earlier 1653 document of his Ruthenian appointment (see fn. 126) is recorded in MK 201, fol. 161–161v. A draft of the 1653 appointment document appears in MK 393, fols. 104v–105.

Hankiewicz a Swedish noble title and coat of arms.[138]

Starting in 1659, many documents pertaining to the Ruthenian palatinates were in fact recorded, albeit in Polish, in the separate Ruthenian book ("SB-24"), of which Hankiewicz was in charge. A total of forty-five documents were recorded in book "SB-24" for the year 1659—twelve legal decrees from the Sejm court[139] and thirty-three charters of privilege.[140] Apparently added after the end of the year is a final reconfirmation of the 1595 privileges for the Ruthenian church, repeated in Ruthenian with an initial and concluding protocol of confirmation added in Polish.[141] Yet, even for 1659, that first and important year of Hankiewicz's active participation in the Ruthenian Metrica, at least nine additional privileges pertaining to Ruthenian lands are entered in Hankiewicz's Latin books in the main chancery, five in Latin and four in Polish.[142] A privilege for the Crown village of Shenderivka (Pol. Szenderkówka, in the Korsun' region of the Kiev palatinate) was recorded in "SB-24," but an additional inscription involving the same village was recorded the preceding month in book MK 201.[143] Five additional privileges addressed to Volhynia in the last half of 1658 all appeared in MK 201, while only one privilege was recorded from that period in "SB-24." There appears to be no obvious explanation why some privileges are recorded in book "SB" and others in MK 201. Drafts of many of the privileges entered in both books appear interspersed in the Crown books of protocols MK 365 and MK 393.

Book "SB-24" was not the product of a separate chancery for the Rus' Principality, for such a chancery was never formally created. And, there was no recognition of a new legal status for the areas in the documents recorded: the existence of the principality was referenced only in passing in a couple of documents from 1659 in the Crown Metrica,[144] and the

138 AGAD, MK 201, fols. 125–128.

139 TsGADA, no. 220, fols. 21–27 and 29–44v. Technically, ten of these are titled *areszt seymowy*, one is a *contumacia*, and another an *approbatia*.

140 TsGADA, no. 220, fols. 28–28v and 45–91.

141 The end of the 1659 section was first marked at the bottom of fol. 86v, but two additional documents are then added for 1659, and the official signatures of Prażmowski and Hankiewicz for the end of the year appear on fol. 91.

142 See MK 201, fols. 185 and 209v–210; and MK 202, fols. 152–152v, 153v–154, and 107–107v.

143 Further comparison is needed of the texts recorded in AGAD, MK 201, fol. 152–152v (24.VI.1659) and in TsGADA, no. 220 ("SB-24"), fol. 77–77v (8.V.1659).

144 A few scattered references to the Rus' Principality have been found in documents addressed to Ruthenian areas dating from early 1659 in MK 201. See, for example, a privilege awarded to Maxim Bułza (8.VI.1659) referring to his service in the "Woysk naszych Wielkiego Xsięstwa Ruskiego y Zaporowskiego zołniezowi.... Co do swiadomości wszytkich a osobliwie naiasnieisym nastempsom naszym i wszytkim Wielkiego Xięstwa Ruskiego

diplomatic formulae do not appear to have been changed. Furthermore, some documents recorded in the separate Ruthenian volume "SB-24" were addressed to Volhynia, which was not recognized as part of the Rus' Principality in the Hadiach Agreement. Although documents in the volume are, in general, of the same character as those in earlier books of the series, in the immediate postwar period there were a large number of grants of nobility and other privileges to major Ruthenian families and important leaders of the Cossack cause. These included Ivan Vyhovs'kyi and his family, Pavlo Tetera, Zakharii Surta, Stefan Sulyma, and the Hunashevs'kyi and Ostrozhs'kyi families, among others.[145]

In subsequent years, after the demise of the Hadiach Agreement, many privileges issued for Ruthenian nobility involved with the Hetmanate were recorded along with those for Volhynia, either in "SB-24" or in other main chancery books. Many privileges continued to be addressed to Kiev and the Left-Bank areas of Chernihiv and Novhorod-Siveria, although these territories were effectively under the rule of the Cossack Hetmanate. For the year 1660, there are only five privileges in book "SB," two of which are signed by Hankiewicz, and no legal decrees at all.[146] Yet, there are six privileges—one in Latin and five in Polish—in Hankiewicz's main chancery inscription book MK 201.[147] There are a total of forty-one documents for 1661 in book "SB-24," only seven of them legal decrees.[148] But there are an additional fourteen privileges recorded in Hankiewicz's Latin main chancery book MK 202 that pertain to the Ruthenian palatinates, many of which were recorded in Polish,[149] and additional relevant privileges in book MK 204.[150] In 1661 Hankiewicz was confirmed in the office of mayor (*voit*) of Kiev, and that privilege appeared in book "SB."[151] The same year,

obywatelom podaiemy. . . . " (fol. 207).

145 See the brief notes about the contents of this volume in the report by Petro Mykhailovych Kulakovs'kyi and Iurii Andreevych Mytsyk, "LM kn. 220 kak istoricheskii istochnik," in *Litovskaia metrika. Tezisy dokladov mezhrespublikanskoi nauchnoi konferentsii, aprel, 1988 g.* (Vilnius, 1988), pp. 45–46. The authors are planning a complete scholarly edition of this volume, but at the time of their report they were unaware of its overlap with other books of the Crown Metrica in AGAD.

146 TsGADA, no. 220, fols. 93–96v (old nos. 107–110v).

147 AGAD, MK 201, fols. 356v–357 and 399v–404.

148 TsGADA, no. 220, fols. 102–139v (old nos. 123–160v).

149 See AGAD, MK 202, fols. 58–58v, 138v–139, 152v–153v, 164–164v, 174v–175, 244–246, 253–255v, and 258v.

150 AGAD, MK 204, fols. 3v–4 and fols. 53–54v.

151 TsGADA, no. 220, fol. 102v (old no. 123v). The following document issued (fol. 103 [124]) is a plenipotentiary for Pavlo Tetera from Hankiewicz, with particular reference to the office of mayor, so formally he was putting Tetera in charge. For a later confirmation, see fn. 167.

Hankiewicz himself was awarded a stone house in Warsaw, and the privilege was understandably recorded only in book MK 202.[152]

Starting in 1662, for the first time since 1569, many documents recorded in the Ruthenian Metrica are found repeated in the books of the main series of the Crown Metrica. Ten documents from 1662 are recorded in book "SB-24," all of them privileges,[153] and two are repeated in book MK 203.[154] From that same year there are one or two other obvious Volhynian privileges in book MK 202 that are not repeated in "SB-24," and several others in book MK 203.[155] Further comparison of the texts is needed because the occurence of repeated documents continues in the following years. Book "SB-24" includes twenty privileges from 1663,[156] most of them recorded as *oblata*, but apparently only one document is repeated—with an earlier date—in MK 203.[157] Yet, the privilege preceding this repeated one in MK 203, involving the Novosiles'kyi family estate in the Kiev palatinate, is entered only in the Latin book MK 203.[158] Drafts of most of the 1663 privileges in "SB-24" are found in a general volume of Crown chancery protocols (MK 364), with marginal indications that they are being recorded in the Ruthenian series. From 1665, there are *oblata* of five privileges in book "SB-24"[159] and at least two Ruthenian privileges involving the palatine of Kiev are recorded in book MK 203.[160] Only two privileges are recorded in book "SB-24" for 1666, the final year of Prażmowski's chancellorship.[161]

152 AGAD, MK 202, fol. 58–58v. That grant is also recorded in *Volumina Legum* 5: 75–76.

153 TsGADA, no. 220, fols. 142–152v (old nos. 184–195v). Again, it would appear the last document, reconfirming privileges of the "Early Greek Religion" granted in 1595, was added later, and it does not appear in Hankiewicz's "Index."

154 Two documents dated in Lviv 23.X.1662 in MK 203 (fols. 121v–123v) are repeated without official signatures in "SB-24" (TsGADA, no. 220, fols. 193–194v), and in this case the document actually notes the overlap: "stanęwszy oczywiście pered aktami Metriki Wołyńskiey kancellariey wielkiey koronney." In both cases, drafts appear in MK 364, fols. 92v–94, and that same book of protocols includes drafts of at least two other 1662 documents recorded in "SB-24"; see MK 364, fols. 46–47v and fols. 142–143.

155 For example, AGAD, MK 202, fol. 292–292v.

156 TsGADA, no. 220, fols. 155–184 (old nos. 207–253).

157 For example, from 1663 it would appear that one charter of privilege for the Zaporozhian hetman, dated 18.III.1663, appears in "SB-24" (no. 220, fols. 207–208) and appears without date in MK 203 (fols. 270v–271).

158 AGAD, MK 203, fols. 269–270v. In this case, the privilege entered in Latin refers back to an earlier privilege issued in 1653.

159 TsGADA, no. 220, fols. 187–203 (old nos. 255–270).

160 AGAD, MK 203, fols. 355v–358v and 418–419.

161 TsGADA, no. 220, fols. 211–213 (old nos. 306–307).

In contrast to the situation observed earlier when Bederman was the Ruthenian notary, by Hankiewicz's period in the chancery, separate books of draft privileges were not being kept for the Ruthenian Metrica. In extant books of protocols from 1658 and 1659 identified with Hankiewicz, for example, privileges were all being entered together in the same books. There are, however, revealing notes in the margins to the effect that the documents were being recorded in the Ruthenian (or Volhynian) Metrica.[162] The same pattern continues for privileges throughout Hankiewicz's period in the chancery.[163] Marginal notes vary considerably in their designations, however, and often refer to a "Metrica" for Kiev and Bratslav palatinates, although the documents so designated appear in "SB-24."[164]

At least initially, some of the legal cases for the Ruthenian palatinates were still being recorded separately, as suggested by the extant thirteen-folio fascicle with protocols from the Sejm court pertaining to Volhynia, dating from the years 1659–1666.[165] Most of the documents contained overlap with the corresponding decrees from those years in Hankiewicz's Ruthenian book "SB," but it is doubtful that these would have been the only cases pertaining to these palatinates in the Crown courts during this period. In fact, the lack of legal decrees in the final Ruthenian volume after 1661 is puzzling, particularly since Hankiewicz held the office of Volhynian judicial notary and was therefore supposed to handle decrees from that area. In fact, there were no legal decrees at all recorded after 1664, and there was only one for that year. By then, decrees were obviously being recorded elsewhere.

Hankiewicz continued in office after Jan Leszczyński, *starosta general* of Greater Poland and palatine of Cracow, became chancellor in December 1666, although Hankiewicz ended his own term in the chancery in 1673, prior to the completion of Leszczyński's term in 1676. Andrzej Olszowski (1621–1677), bishop of Chełmno and later primate, was serving as vice-

[162] Note, for example, the marginal notations in MK 366 and MK 393 with drafts of documents found in MK 201 and the Ruthenian book "SB-24."

[163] Other books of protocols from this period in which documents from "SB-24" have been located include MK 365 (1655, 1658–1662), MK 369 (1664–1666), MK 370 (1667–1668), and MK 371 (1669–1673); a more thorough search is planned once a full register of the Ruthenian-related documents has been completed.

[164] For example, in MK 364—with drafts of documents found in MK 203 and "SB-24"—marginal notes vary remarkably: "Inductum ad Acta Metrica Ruthen[icalis]" (MK 364, fol. 46); "do Metriki Ruskiey" (fol. 214); "Do Metriky Wołyn[skiej]" (MK 364, fol. 142, fol. 146v); "do Metriky W[oiewo]dztwa Kiiowskie" (fol. 166v, fol. 217v); "do Metriky Bracławsky" (fol. 163v, fol. 214).

[165] AGAD, ARS 21. See fn. 31. One protocol in the AGAD book from the *Referendarz* court cannot be found in "SB-24," but further comparison of these texts is in order.

chancellor during that same period and is named by Hankiewicz on the title page of the volume, but the extent of his involvement in the documents is less obvious. During the final eight years (from 1666 through 1673) of the last volume in the Ruthenian series, under Leszczyński's chancellorship, proportionately fewer documents (and only privileges) were recorded there than had been the case in the preceding period. Again, the number fluctuated radically: in 1667 there were nine privileges; the number rose to eighteen for 1668, but ten of these involved Chernihiv and Novhorod-Siveria, which were no longer under Crown control.

During these two years even more privileges addressed to the Ukrainian palatinates appear in corresponding contemporary books of the Crown Metrica—twelve for 1667 and as many as forty-three for 1668—and no overlap has been found. The rationale behind these recordings is not apparent, but might suggest the diminished status of the Ruthenian volume. For example, a 1667 document granting the office of treasurer (*skarbnik*) of Volhynia appears in the Latin book MK 206, yet a similar appointment of *skarbnik* of Kiev appears in book "SB-24."[166] A confirmation of Hankiewicz's office as mayor (*voit*) of Kiev appears in MK 206, although the initial appointment in 1661 had appeared only in "SB-24."[167] Hankiewicz may well have had his own rationale for deciding which particular documents were to be recorded where, and which were to be repeated. Or, he may simply have had to comply with the demands made by the Volhynian nobles receiving the documents as to where they were to be recorded.

The fascicles of the volume covering the last five years, dating from the reign of King Michał Korybut Wiśnowiecki (19.VI.1669—10.XI.1673), were added later to book "SB" as a separate section, and involved rebinding the volume at the end of 1673, when Hankiewicz left office.[168] The number of documents included—still only privileges—dropped again to six for 1669, and all of these were repeated in the main chancery book MK 209.[169] This is the first and only year in which all the privileges recorded in book "SB-24" were also recorded in main Crown Metrica books. Additional pertinent documents for 1669 that were not recorded in "SB-24" have been found, however, in both MK 209 and MK 210. These include,

166 The document, dated 26.III.1667, appears in AGAD, MK 206, fol. 240–240v. See the one for Kiev in TsGADA, no. 220, fol. 318 (old numeration).

167 AGAD, MK 206, fol. 347–347v; see the original appointment cited in fn. 151.

168 The present contemporary leather binding is the second binding Hankiewicz undertook for the volume, as evident from the corrected description of the volume in the manuscript copy of his "Synopsis," fol. 20v. The initial volume was presumably in vellum. See fn. 28.

169 Compare TsGADA, no. 220, fols. 350–353 (old numeration) and AGAD, MK 209, fols. 123–123v, 136v–137, 150–150v, 189–189v, and 230–231v.

for example, a grant of the office of *podstolstwo* of Bratslav, whereas the corresponding office for Volhynia had been recorded in both MK 209 and "SB-24."[170] There were thirteen documents recorded in book "SB-24" in 1670, of which five related to the Ostroz'kyi family and five were confirmations of privileges for the city of Kovel' and its guilds.[171] Only one privilege has been found repeated in book MK 209, but drafts of at least six appear in MK 371.[172] From the final three years, there were eight privileges for 1671, two for 1672, and five for 1673. Three of those from 1673 were repeated in MK 209, and a protocol of at least one is found in MK 371. For the final period of Hankiewicz's work in the chancery, more scattered documents addressed to the Ukrainian palatinates are to be found in corresponding contemporary books of the Crown Metrica that were not repeated in the final Ruthenian book.

Hankiewicz's role in ending the Ruthenian series reflects his broader role and function as chancery archivist in charge of the entire Crown Metrica. It is obvious that the Ruthenian series was of periferal concern, since there was not even a separate notary for those documents. Hankiewicz was primarily concerned with the main chancery inscription books that he prepared for Prażmowski and other, later, chancellors; hence, it is not surprising that there is considerable overlap and a certain lack of definition surrounding the Ruthenian documentation. Hankiewicz had been appointed *metrykant* in charge of the entire Crown Metrica and *sekretarz królewski* in 1661. He was closely involved with the return of the metrica from Sweden at the end of 1664.[173] Once the metrica was back in Warsaw, he was preoccupied with the rearrangement of the Crown Metrica, at which time he assigned an alpha-numeric system to the entire metrica corpus and prepared his "Synopsis."[174] His concern with registering and recording the contents of the metrica complex and his aptitude for inventorying is also evident in later contributions—most importantly, the inventory of

170 Compare AGAD, MK 209, fol. 121–121v and fol. 123–123v and TsGADA, no. 220, fol. 350.

171 Unfortunately, four folios cut from book "SB-24" involve the text of one of the Kovel' privileges and parts of two others—granting privileges to three different guilds—are now missing, with traces of the cut-off folios remaining visibly in the gulley. The missing documents are listed in both the table of contents at the end of the volume and Hankiewicz's "Index" (AGAD, TzwML VIII.1, fol. 830). Drafts or other recordings of these documents have not been found in the Crown Metrica complex.

172 See AGAD, MK 371, fols. 49v–51, fols. 61–67.

173 See the privilege issued at the end of December regarding his service as Crown metricant (AGAD, MK 203, fols. 347–348). See also the series of three letters regarding the metrica (then enroute from Sweden) addressed to him by Prażmowski dated 7, 18, and 22 December 1664. AGAD, MK 203, fols. 348–349v (the recording date was 31.XII.1664).

174 See the introductory notes in the "Synopsis," fols. 1–2.

documents in the Cracow Crown Treasury that Hankiewicz prepared in 1669, three copies of which remain today in Warsaw.[175]

Hankiewicz's 1653 oath of office affirmed his commitment to maintaining the Ruthenian series, although he used the phrase "in Ruthenian or Polish style," rather than an outright guarantee to record documents in the Ruthenian language.[176] In fact, the use of the Ruthenian language in the Ruthenian series of the Crown Metrica ceased completely with Hankiewicz's assumption of office.[177] The remaining documents in the volume (1654, 1658–1673)—all presumably prepared under the direction of Hankiewicz—are in Polish with a few Latin documents or Latin sections within documents. The two major entries in Ruthenian were simply repeated recordings of an earlier privilege for the Ruthenian church, and appear to be later additions.[178]

These developments in the central Crown chancery are again mirrored by corresponding language usage in local court records. The early 1660s was a major turning point in Volhynia, as noted by Nataliia Iakovenko in her study of language usage. By 1662 the figure for decrees in Ruthenian in the Luts'k castle-court books was 75 percent, but three years later, in 1665, it stood at 2.5 percent. The Volodymyr court held out longer, for even in 1667 there were 98.5 percent Ruthenian entries in *potochnye* books, 76.5 percent in books of decrees, and 29.5 percent in inscription books. By the end of the 1660s, however, in all three districts counted, the use of Ruthenian had disappeared entirely from the local castle-court record books examined.[179] There does not appear to have been a constitution of the Sejm providing for the use of Polish in the Ruthenian palatinates, although such a law was issued for the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1697 as part of the general constitution pertaining to the courts in the Grand Duchy.[180]

175 One copy is counted as a volume of the Crown Metrica (AGAD, MK 208), another copy is recorded in MK 209 (fols. 98v–119v), and still another copy is part of the metrica complex returned from Moscow in the 1920s (AGAD, TzwML VIII.7).

176 TsGADA, fond, 389, no. 220, fol. 14.

177 The first ten folios of this volume, with documents for 1652, were recorded in Ruthenian in Cyrillic script, undoubtedly copied later from drafts left by Hankiewicz's predecessor Ian Bederman.

178 An *oblata* of the 1595 charter in Ruthenian affirming the right of the Ruthenian church is repeated at two different places with initial and concluding protocols in Polish, at the end of entries for 1659 and 1662. In both cases these entries appear to have been added at a later point, as there was already a note at the end of the year preceding it. See TsGADA, book 220, fols. 86v, 87–91, and fol. 153 [195].

179 Iakovenko, "O iazykovom sostave," pp. 69–70. Iakovenko notes, however, that the Ruthenian names and diplomatic forms for documents continue until the end of the century.

180 *Volumina Legum* 5:418 (no. 863).

Yet, the handling of Volhynian documents during Hankiewicz's period, and the very existence of book "SB," suggests that the status of the Ruthenian series was more complicated than merely a change in linguistic usage. The fact that all the documents in the final Ruthenian metrica volume were recorded in Polish following Hankiewicz's assumption of office, even at the same time when more and more of the documents inscribed in books of the main series of the Crown Metrica were in Polish rather than Latin, suggests there was more at stake than language. The change in linguistic usage in the Crown chancery may reflect the decreased need for a separate Ruthenian series, but a sense of separate identity predicated on judicial and cultural factors still persisted; at least some of the Ruthenian nobility were anxious to preserve this. As late as 1669, in another instruction to their representatives to the Sejm, the Volhynian noble assembly complained about the intermingling of records and the lack of a separate Ruthenian metricant.[181] Such appeals came too late, however, for the linguistic and cultural die had already been cast.

The end of a separate Ruthenian series by the mid-seventeenth century reflected the degree of polonization of the Ruthenian nobility in Volhynia. During the course of a century of Polish administration, the political situation and chancery practices had changed drastically. The linguistic usage of the mid-sixteenth century which, together with the legal system, had been the key justification for a separate series, was no longer operative by the mid-seventeenth century. Following the Khmel'nyts'kyi uprising, the least polonized Left-Bank areas were no longer effectively under Crown control. And, by 1673, the palatinate of Bratslav and part of the Kiev palatinate were already occupied by Turkey, so that the lands originally serviced by the books of the series were reduced to Volhynia and part of the palatinate of Kiev.

The purpose behind Hankiewicz's preparation in 1673 of a summary register for the Ruthenian series now becomes clear. By that time, few chancery officials knew or adequately understood the Ruthenian language, and they needed a listing or "Index" of the documents recorded in Ruthenian in earlier volumes of the series—documents that were not found in other books of the Crown Metrica. Hankiewicz, as Crown metricant, was the first to provide such a model. He may have brought the separate

[181] "Akta woiewództw ukrainskich ruskich, w metryke ingrossowane, aby swego mieli metrykanta, ktorego lubo J.Mil.P. Canclerz Koronny podą, lubo też sami go podamy." Quoted from instructions to representatives to the Sejm (29.IX.1669), in *Arkhiv IuZR*, pt. 2, 2: 277.

Ruthenian series to an end, but, at the same time, he provided a document-by-document "Index" of all the books in the series, an index that, despite its severe deficiencies, is still of interest and assistance to scholars today.

LATER INVENTORIES AND THE FATE OF THE RUTHENIAN SERIES

Hankiewicz's 1673 summary register may have served chancery purposes in his day, and it was considered useful enough to merit recopying in the eighteenth century.[182] By the mid-eighteenth century, however, a more detailed summary register of the Ruthenian series was needed for the chancery, since by then the Ruthenian language was much less familiar to chancery officials. A new document-by-document inventory was prepared for the chancery in Warsaw in the 1760s or early 1770s.[183] Although the manuscript is not signed (the initial folios are now missing), the inventory was probably compiled by Jan Franciszek Cywiński (d. before 1776), who, since 1760, held the office of *regent* in the Crown chancery. A register of the Ruthenian series is included in a list of inventories prepared for the Crown chancery by Cywiński that was presented to the Permanent Council after his death, with a petition for payment to his surviving family.[184]

The manuscript in question is now held in TsGADA, within the fond of the Lithuanian Metrica.[185] In 1887, Ptaszycki mistakenly described it as a

[182] Regarding the eighteenth-century copy now in AGAD, see fn. 37.

[183] See more details about this inventory and its probable compiler in my article, "Neizvestnaia poaktovaia opis' Rus'koi (Volhyns'koi) metriki (1569–1673) iz sobraniia TsGADA SSSR," in *Issledovaniia po istochnikovedeniiu Litovskoi metriki. Sbornik*, ed. A. L. Khoroshkevich and V. T. Pashuto (Moscow, forthcoming).

[184] AGAD, TzwML VII.75, fol. 129 (no. 202). Listed as no. 22 (fol. 129v) was "Summaryusz zamykaiący w sobie przywileje y inne prawa Polskie y Ruskie województw Kiiowskiego Wołyńskiego Bracławskiego y Czerniechowskiego." Cywiński's daughter and son-in-law were then petitioning the Permanent Council (*Rada Nieustająca*) for compensation for his work in the Metrica chancery, which they claim the king had appreciated. The list and accompanying letter by Anna Glezmer were dated 9 August 1776. See this and related correspondence about Cywiński's work in ibid., fol. 117 and fol. 133 [no. 203], and in the protocols of the Permanent Council from the same year, AGAD, TzwML VII.16, fol. 142 and fol. 146 (nos. 202 and 203). The family was paid 1,000 zł. for Cywiński's work the following January: see AGAD, TzwML VII.19, fol. 155 (1777, no. 24): VII.18, p. 11; and VII.75, annex for p. 11.

[185] TsGADA, fond 389, no. 663. A barely legible title in Latin on the front cover identifies its contents: "Regestrum Actorum Ruthen[ico] Character[e] [Consc]riptorum videlicet Palatinat[uum] Kij[o]vi[ae] Volhyniae Braclaviens[is] et Czerniechoviensis." I am grateful to Svetlana Romanovna Dolgova for locating this manuscript for me in the spring of 1986.

second copy of the 1673 Hankiewicz register.[186] In Cywiński's register, Hankiewicz's initial letter and number designations for the Ruthenian books were retained, but the volumes were rearranged chronologically. The description of the function of the document, the persons addressed, and place names involved are notably more complete than in either the Hankiewicz inventory or in the Cyrillic titles of the documents inscribed in the volumes themselves. Many of the places cited, including even small villages, are consistently given with the name of the larger district in which they are located. The entire text has been prepared with key personal names and place names written, for ease of recognition, in the wide margins.[187] Another feature, the lengthy—sometimes an entire paragraph and in a few instances a page or more—descriptions of documents with data concerning boundaries of estates or other localities,[188] gives us a further clue as to the date and reasons for the compilation of the register. These geographic descriptions may simply reflect the practical concerns of the chancery to record more precise data about landholdings, in connection with potential taxation. But, with the Partitions of Poland (the first in 1772), there could have been greater chancery concern to compile more precise records of boundaries. Given these attributes of the Cywiński effort, this volume now constitutes the most complete available summary inventory describing each document in the volumes of the Ruthenian series now held in TsGADA.

Cywiński's inventory had become badly worn by the early nineteenth century, further proof of its value to the chancery. Accordingly, an official copy was prepared in St. Petersburg in 1803 by the current metricant in charge of the collection, Stefan Koziełło (b. 1775).[189] Among the other reference aids prepared for the chancery at the same time is a volume of indexes and extracts from the Lithuanian and Crown Metricas relating to

[186] It is listed by Ptaszycki as "VIII.2." and that identification remains affixed to the spine.

[187] Place names are recorded throughout in the left-hand margin (in the nominative, undeclined form) and family names appear in the right-hand margin.

[188] Where these occur, there is a specific note, "boundaries" (*granice*), underlined in the left-hand margin together with the name of the place involved.

[189] TsGADA, fond 389, *opis'* 5, no. II. Now held as one of the ancillary inventories of the Lithuanian Metrica collection, with a Russian title added to the Polish text: "Opis' privileiiam zhalovannym na kazennyia i zemskiia i tserkovnyia imenii, a takzhe gorodam i mestechkam, i raznym i chastnym zdelkam s pokazaniem ogranicheniia v kakoi i na kotorom liste sostoiat takovyia dokumenty po Kievskoi, Volyn'skoi i Podol'skoi gubernii s 1569-go po 1674 god" (316 folios). The spine is labeled "Tom II—KM" (Volume 2—Crown Metrica). The Koziełło copy, incidentally, includes a register of the first book of the Ruthenian series, which would have appeared on the now missing initial folios of the eighteenth-century register.

Ruthenian lands, with a short fascicle that lists charters of Magdeburg Law and some other municipal privileges for cities in the Kiev, Volhynian, and Podolian palatinates during the period 1570–1659, as recorded in the Ruthenian books designated by the letters "A" to "SB."[190]

Regrettably, neither the Hankiewicz register nor Cywiński's eighteenth-century one provides dates for the documents in the books described, and, since Koziełło's time, there has been no attempt to compile a more detailed finding-aid for the Ruthenian series. In the fall of 1887, the same year that the Ptaszycki inventory was published, the so-called Lithuanian Metrica collection was moved from St. Petersburg to the Moscow Archive of the Ministry of Justice (*Moskovskii arkhiv Ministerstva iustitsii*—MAMIu). With the exception of the Ruthenian series, the rest of the Crown Metrica was subsequently returned to Warsaw by the 1920s.

The so-called Lithuanian Metrica collection remained in Moscow, but materials were virtually closed to research after the 1920s. No new internal inventory was prepared. It was only in 1952 that the fond of the Lithuanian Metrica was renumbered—but not rearranged—in TsGADA: those parts of the original collection described in the 1887 inventory that remained in TsGADA were simply renumbered consecutively in the margin of a copy of the published Ptaszycki text. That *ad hoc* system of numeration remains today as the official arrangement of the fond.[191] Researchers should be aware that these new TsGADA numbers further obscure the distinctive identity of the books of the Ruthenian series by integrating them into the overall sequential numeration of the current fond of the Lithuanian Metrica collection. Furthermore, the designation "Lithuanian Metrica" in the title of the present Ptaszycki inventory, undoubtedly dictated by Russian authorities at the time of its publication, has led to considerable subsequent confusion about the provence of the Ruthenian series.

The only recent attempt to describe the individual volumes of the Ruthenian series and to correlate their numbers with those assigned in

190 "Vypiski iz knig Koronnoi metriki otnosiashchikhsia k Kievskoi, Volyn'skoi i Podol'skoi gubernii" (TsGADA, fond 389, *opis'* 3, fols. 286–313). The list provides folio references to the Ruthenian volumes for the years 1570–1659, using their earlier signatures "A"–"SB." See also similar references to the Ukrainian palatinates from the years 1516–1571 drawn from books of the Lithuanian Metrica in the preceding section (fols. 276–277v).

191 Those same TsGADA code numbers have been printed in the margin of the 1984 annotated facsimile edition of the Ptaszycki text, published as part of *The "Lithuanian Metrica" in Moscow and Warsaw*.

earlier inventories occurs in the 1975 inventory of the Crown Metrica prepared in AGAD in Warsaw.[192] The 1975 AGAD inventory quotes all of the earlier inventory descriptions of each volume available to the compilers. Unfortunately, however, the Warsaw compilers did not have access to the record books held in Moscow, and so were unable to provide *de visu* descriptions of the manuscript volumes in TsGADA.

A new scholarly, descriptive inventory is badly needed, particularly since an examination of the actual volumes in Moscow has provided more information about the series, since the additional eighteenth-century Cywiński inventory has come to light, and since an additional volume in the series has been identified in Kórnik, along with additional books of drafts in Warsaw. Such an ''ideal'' inventory, to use traditional archival parlance, could overcome both the inadequacies of the present archival designations and the lack of adequate descriptions of the manuscript books involved. Because most of the Ruthenian volumes are currently held as part of the fond of the ''Lithuanian Metrica'' in TsGADA in Moscow, a number of scholars who have used them have erroneously assumed them to be part of the Lithuanian Metrica. Because the books remain separated from the contiguous and related books of the Crown Metrica, their contents have not been studied in their appropriate context. Polish historians have generally not included references to the documents contained in various analyses of the period. Specialists on genealogy and heraldry have completely overlooked their contents in major armorials and other reference compendia.[193] Scholars of Ukrainian history have not realized the extent to which the documentation contained is intertwined with the rest of the Crown Metrica in Warsaw.

Contemporary Soviet historians have only recently rediscovered the series; because of its present archival arrangement, they continue to associate the series with the Lithuanian Metrica, often failing to recognize its actual provenance and circumstances of creation in the Crown, rather than the Lithuanian, chancery. The Ukrainian historian Mykola Koval's'kyi is the first to have used the series since the Revolution, in connection with his studies on sources for the history of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century

[192] *Inwentarz MK*, cited in fn. 3 above.

[193] For example, none of the three major Polish armorials by Boniecki, Niesiecki, and Uruski and Kosiński mentioned earlier (see fns. 58 and 69) cite documents in the Ruthenian series in their coverage of individuals associated with that series during the years 1569 to 1673.

Ukraine. In a 1983 article, Koval's'kyi lists the charters of Magdeburg Law for Ukrainian cities and towns to be found in several books of the Ruthenian series, but he refers to them as "Crown inscription books of the Lithuanian Metrica."[194] In reference to the 1673 Hankiewicz inventory in AGAD, he appears to realize that the books were kept for the Crown, yet he specifically refers to the series at several points in the article as originating in the chancery of the Grand Duchy.[195]

The most significant use of the Ruthenian series to date, again at Dnipropetrovs'k University under Koval's'kyi's editorship, is the publication of a transcription of the title lines of all documents inscribed in five of the earliest Ruthenian volumes, held in TsGADA.[196] Regrettably, this edition, both in its title and its all too brief introduction, again erroneously attributes the provenance of the series to the Lithuanian chancery.[197] And, because the editors followed the non-chronological order of books according to the Ptaszycki inventory, they did not include the book Hankiewicz had designated as "XD" among the earliest five books.[198] Nevertheless, the trail-blazing efforts of Koval's'kyi and his students and associates in the study of sources for the period and in the extensive related publication program at Dnipropetrovs'k should be an inspiration to other researchers. After seventy years of neglect, this body of sources is once more being given proper recognition of its basic significance for Ukrainian history.

The recognition of the need for an appropriate reference aid for the Ruthenian series has now come to the forefront with the revival of the Archeographic Commission of the Academy of Sciences in Kiev. Hennadii

194 "Lokatsionnye i magdeburgskie gramoty gorodam Ukrainy v sostave koronnykh knig zapisei 'Litovskoi metriki' vtoroi poloviny XVI–pervoi poloviny XVII veka," in *Istoriograficheskie i istochnikovedcheskie problemy* (Dnipropetrovs'k, 1983), pp. 3–15. Koval's'kyi was apparently unaware of the earlier unpublished list of Magdeburg privileges in the Ruthenian Metrica (see fn. 190).

195 See the first sentence of Koval'skyi's article, "Lokatsionnye i magdeburgskie gramoty," where he identifies the Lithuanian Metrica with the chancery of the Grand Duchy, and thus, by implication, the Ruthenian series specified later. See also his specific reference to the Lithuanian chancery in the first paragraph on p. 5, and again later in the article.

196 *Metodicheskie rekomendatsii po ispol'zovaniiu dokumentov Litovskoi metriki* (see above, fn. 56). The book appeared, not as a normal scholarly publication, but as a student textbook in a small printrun, in-house *bezplatno* edition.

197 *Metodicheskie rekomendatsii po ispol'zovaniiu dokumentov Litovskoi metriki*; see the preface (especially pp. 4–5), describing the Lithuanian chancery and not even mentioning the Crown chancery.

198 The editors overlooked the volume currently numbered as fond 389, no. 216 in TsGADA (earlier designated as "XD"), namely the book, dating from 1576 to 1585, prepared for the Crown vice-chancellor and later chancellor Jan Zamoyski. Titles from this volume should presumably have been included in the first edited compilation to preserve the chronological integrity of the series.

Boriak, one of the compilers of the Dnipropetrovs'k register, in a report to the archeographic conference in Kiev in late 1988, clearly distinguished between the Lithuanian Metrica and what he described as "the so-called Ruthenian or Volhynian Metrica," and called for further publications relating to the series.[199] Formal plans have subsequently been announced for the publication of the two early document-by-document inventories of the Ruthenian (Volhynian) series by Hankiewicz and Cywiński, together with a complete transcription of the original titles for each individual document as recorded in the books themselves.[200] These two early inventories overlap to a certain extent, but since each is of interest as a product of the Crown chancery for the period in which it was prepared, both merit publication. When these manuscript inventories are reedited, correlated with the Cyrillic or Polish titles of the documents recorded in the books themselves, and duly indexed, we will have an appropriate twentieth-century reference aid for this important series of documents addressed to the former palatinates of Volhynia, Bratslav, Kiev, and Chernihiv, from the Union of Lublin in 1569 to 1673.

One of the major reasons the Ruthenian series has been so little and so inadequately used in earlier research is because a full inventory, register of documents, or index of the series has never been previously published. The brief 1673 Polish "Index" prepared by Hankiewicz may have satisfied chancery needs in his day. The Polish descriptions in Cywiński's eighteenth-century summary inventory extended the information about the Ruthenian Metrica available to the Crown chancery and, through Koziełło's 1803 copy, to the St. Petersburg chanceries in the nineteenth century. Yet, for the past century, all these efforts were lost to researchers and there were no subsequent attempts at indexing.

[199] See H. V. Boriak, "Problemy vydannia Lytovs'koi i Volyns'koi metryk," in *Ukrains'ka arkheohrafiia: Suchasnyi stan ta perspektyvy rozvytku. Tezy dopovidei respublikans'koi narady, hruden' 1988 r.*, ed. P. S. Sokhan', V. A. Smolii, H. V. Boriak et al. (Kiev, 1988), p. 118. See also the report in the same volume by a Moscow representative to the conference, with reference to my earlier recommendations for such a publicaton: A. L. Khoroshkevich, "Tradytsii radians'koi arkheohrafii ta zavdannia Arkheohrafichnoi komisii AN URSR," in *Ukrains'ka arkheohrafiia*, pp. 19–20.

[200] The publication is now scheduled for 1992 by "Naukova dumka," with the joint sponsorship of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, TsGADA, AGAD, and the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences. See the earlier reference in the draft publication plan for the Archeographic Commission, "Perspektyvnyi plan pidhotovky do druku ta vydannia naivazhlyvishykh dzherel z istorii Ukrainy XIV–XIX st.," reproduced as part of *"Ukrains'ka arkheohrafiia: Suchasnyi stan i perspektyvy rozvytku." Materialy do respublikans'koi narady, Kyiv, lystopad 1988 r.* (Kiev, 1988), p. 3. The publication is also included in the spring 1989 version of the draft publication plan for the Archeographic Commission.

Such a new scholarly edition should, ideally, include archival annotations for extant original or known recorded copies of the documents inscribed in the books themselves, together with any published variants. The extensive searching required, however, would obviously not be possible in this initial publication because of the lack of appropriate indexes and registers for the relevant materials held in Soviet and Polish archives. Some of the documents recorded in the Ruthenian series were also recorded in local court or municipal record books (sometimes in shortened or altered form), but almost no indexes for these books are available. In a very few cases the original charters recorded are still extant; a few others have been published either from the originals or from recorded copies. In these cases, an attempt is being made to locate and identify them, with citations in the newly published inventories.

Starting in the 1620s, many documents pertaining to Ruthenian lands were also recorded in the main series of the Polish Crown Metrica. Sadly, there are no registers or indexes available for the period of the Ruthenian Metrica,[201] except for a register of documents pertaining to Jews.[202] An extensive register of documents addressed to and pertaining to Ruthenian lands in the contemporary books of the Crown Metrica is in preparation in AGAD, to be included with the forthcoming Kiev edition of inventories, together with appropriate personal name and geographic indexes. Eventually, systematic textual comparison and a further search for related or overlapping documents will be required, but the initial indexing efforts should pave the way.

The planned publication of the early inventories of documents in the Ruthenian series, together with a transcription of the original document titles and a full description of the books themselves, is a crucial first step in understanding the circumstances of their creation, facilitating their use, and locating possible copies elsewhere. The accompanying register of documents from other contemporary books of the Crown Metrica will demonstrate the close interconnection of the Ruthenian series with the rest of the Crown Metrica complex. Such a publication should provide the means for

201 Summary registers of the Crown Metrica from this period were prepared in Warsaw in the nineteenth century, but never published. The manuscripts and card indexes were all lost in World War II.

202 Janina Morgensztern, "Regesty z Metryki Koronnej do historii Żydów w Polsce (1574–1586)," *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego* 47/48 (1963): 113–29; "...(1588–1632)," ibid., 51 (1964): 59–78; "...(1633–1660)," ibid., 58 (1966): 107–150; "...(1660–1668)," ibid., 67 (1968): 67–108; "...(1669–1696)," ibid., 69 (1969): 71–109. Regrettably, this register does not include references to documents recorded in the books of the Ruthenian series.

a full scholarly analysis of the Ruthenian Metrica and its contents, so that students of the period will be able to access and analyze the entire range of Crown interests and activities, as well as the actual chancery practices, expressed in privileges and other legal documents issued by the Crown and addressed to these central Ukrainian lands from 1569 to 1673.

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APPENDIX 1: Chronological List and Correlation Table of Earlier Archival Code Numbers for the Books of the Ruthenian (or Volhynian) Series of the Crown Metrica

The present table of books of the Ruthenian (or Volhynian) series of the Crown Metrica lists extant volumes in chronological order of their current archival designations with correlations to earlier inventories.

The first column lists the dates of the documents inscribed in each volume.

The second column lists the numbers as currently designated in TsGADA, fond 389, with the addition of one recently identified volume in the Kórnik Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences. Note that the books now numbered 212 and 213 in fond 389 have at various times been inventoried with the Ruthenian Metrica but are *not* part of the series.

The third column lists the designations for individual volumes in the 1666 Hankiewicz "Synopsis" of the Crown Metrica, prepared after the books were returned from Sweden (Wrocław, ZNiO MS 137), and in the 1673 Hankiewicz "Index" (AGAD, TzWML VIII.1).

The fourth column lists the order (i.e., starting folios in the register) given in the eighteenth-century Warsaw summary register attributed to Cywiński (TsGADA, fond 389, opis' 1, no. 663).

The fifth column gives the number and letter descriptions listed in the 1798 St. Petersburg inventory of the Crown Metrica, published in 1843. These same numbers (without the letters) were used in the 1828 Koziełło inventory (TsGADA, fond 328, d. 64a).

The sixth column lists the numbers established in the 1836 St. Petersburg inventory prepared by the 1835/1836 imperial commission appointed to examine and register the metrica complex. The official copy of that inventory, signed by the metricant Franciszek Malewski and by Franciszek Czarnocki (Sarnotski), is now in TsGADA (fond 328, d. 251). These 1836 St. Petersburg inventory numbers were later used by Stanisław Ptaszycki for the inventory published in 1887 under the title *Opisanie Litovskoi metriki*; the Ruthenian series appears in Section I.B–*Knigi zapisei*, B.*Koronnai.*

The seventh column lists the numbers assigned for the Crown Metrica in the 1975 Warsaw inventory, *Inwentarz Metryki Koronnej* (pp. 229–40), which, it should be noted, are the same numbers as in the 1798 St. Petersburg inventory. These numbers are marked on the inside of the cover (usually the upper-left corner of the front end paper) of each volume, apparently placed there and signed in the nineteenth century by Ludwig Zelwerowicz (1817–1883), who preceded Ptaszycki as the metricant in charge of the collection (1869–1883).

The eighth column lists the notary responsible for the volume.

The ninth column lists the Crown chancellor (c) and/or vice-chancellor (vc) for whom the volume was prepared.

	(1) Dates of documents	(2) TsGADA nos. (fond 389)	(3) Hankiewicz nos. (1673)	(4) Starting fol., Cywiński	(5) 1798/1828 MK(A-1)
1)	1569–1572	191	A-1	[2-3]	304 A
2)	1569–1572, 1574	192	B-2	4	305 B
3)	1574–1576, 1577	193	C-3	7v	306 C
4)	1574–1576, 1577–1578	194	D-4	9	307 D
5)	1576–1585	216	XD	10v	308 XD
6)	1578–1582	195	E-5	22v	309 E
7)	1582–1583	196	F-6	31v	311 F
8)	1583–1603	197	G-7	40	312 G
9)	1585–1586	198	H-8	47	313 H
10)	1588–1593	217	KB	39	314 KB
11)	1588–1589, 1591–1595	200	K-10	56v	315 K
12)	1589–1590	199	I-9	52v	316 I
13)	1595–1598	201	L-11	62	317 L
14)	1598–1603	202	M-12	66	318 M
15)	1602–1604	203	N-13	74	319 N
16)	1603–1607	204	O-14	74v	320 O
17)	1605–1609	218	XF	78	321 XF
18)	1609–1612	[Kórnik 323]	—	—	—
19)	1611–1613	205	Q-15	79	322 Q
20)	1613–1617	206	R-16	80v	323 R
21)	1613–1619	207	S-17	84v	324 S
22)	1620–1623	208	T-18	88	325 T
23)	1616–1626	209	V-19	89	326 U
24)	1626–1628, 1631	210	W-20	97	327 W
25)	1629, 1631	211	X-21	99v	328 X
26)	1633–1635, 1643, 1645, 1647	214	Z-23	111	329 Z
27)	1635–1641	219	XC	101v	330 XC
28)*	1637–1641	215	BX	107v	331 BX
29)	1652–1654, 1658–1673	220	SB-24	120	332 SB

* The book BX (now TsGADA, no. 215) contains Polish-language versions of most of the legal decrees entered in the Ruthenian language in book XC (now TsGADA, no. 219).

(6) 1836/Ptaszycki 1887	(7) MK 1975	(8) Chancellor and/or Notary	(9) vice-chancellor
I.B 1/A	304	Lavrin Pisochyns'kyi	vc Franciszek Krasiński
I.B 2/B	305	Ievtyk Vasyl' Vysots'kyi	c Walenty Dembiński
I.B 3/C	306	Lavrin Pisochyns'kyi	vc Piotr Wolski
I.B 4/D	307	Lavrin Pisochyns'kyi	vc/c Piotr Wolski
I.B 26, 27/XD	308	Iakym Vysots'kyi	vc/c Jan Zamojski
I.B 5/E	309	Lavrin Pisochyns'kyi	vc Jan Borukowski
I.B 6/F	311	Lavrin Pisochyns'kyi	vc Jan Borukowski
I.B 7/G	312	Florian Oleshko	c Jan Zamojski
I.B 8/H	313	Lavrin Pisochyns'kyi	vc Wojciech Baranowski
I.B 28/KB	314	Iakym Vysots'kyi	c Jan Zamojski
I.B 10/K	315	Ian Novoselyts'kyi/ Lavrin Pisochyns'kyi/ Mykola Vas'kovs'kyi	vc Wojciech Baranowski/ vc Jan Tarnowski
I.B I/9	316	Lavrin Pisochyns'kyi	vc Wojciech Baranowski
I.B 11/L	317	Florian Oleshko	vc Jan Tarnowski
I.B 12/M	318	Zakharii Ielovyts'kyi	c Jan Zamojski/ vc Piotr Tylicki
I.B 13/N	319	Florian Oleshko	vc Piotr Tylicki
I.B 14/O	320	Zakharii Ielovyts'kyi	vc Piotr Tylicki/ vc Maciej Pstrokoński
I.B 29/XF	321	Florian Oleshko	vc/c Maciej Pstrokoński/ c Wawrzyniec Gembicki
—	—	Oleksandr Krupets'kyi/ Ian Martsynkevych	vc Feliks Kryski
I.B 15/Q	322	Florian Oleshko	c Wawrzyniec Gembicki/ c Feliks Kryski
I.B 16/R	323	Ian Martsynkevych	c Feliks Kryski
I.B 17/S	324	Florian Oleshko	c Feliks Kryski
I.B 18/T	325	Zakharii Bozhenets' Ielovyts'kyi	vc Wacław Leszczyński
I.B 19/V	326	Khryshtofor Makosii Bakovets'kyi	vc Henryk Firlej/ vc/c Andrzej Lipski/ c Wacław Leszczyński
I.B 20/W	327	Zakhariia Ielovyts'kyi/ Ian Bederman	c Wacław Leszczyński/ c Jakób Zadzik
I.B 21/X	328	Zakhariia Ielovyts'kyi/ Ian Bederman	c Jakób Zadzik
I.B 24/Z	329	Ian Bederman	c Jakób Zadzik/ c Jerzy Ossoliński
I.B 30/XC(29)	330	Ian Bederman	c Tomasz Zamojski/ vc/c Piotr Gembicki
I.B 25/BX	331	Ian Bederman	c Tomasz Zamojski/ vc/c Piotr Gembicki
I.B 32/SB(24)	332	Ian Bederman/ Stefan Hankiewicz	c Andrzej Leszczyński/ c Stefan Koryciński/ c Jan Leszczyński/ c Mikołaj Prażmowski/ vc Andrzej Olszowski

APPENDIX 2: Crown Chancery Notaries
for the Ruthenian Metrica, 1569 – 1673

Notary	Dates of documents	Hankiewicz nos. (1673)	TsGADA nos. (fond 389)
Lavrin Hryhorovych			
Pisochyns'kyi	1569 – 1572	A-1	191
(Ławryn Pieseczyński/	1574, 1576 – 1577	C-3	193
Wawrzyniec Piesoczyński)	1574, 1576 – 1578	D-4	194
(d. ca. 1603 – 1606)	1578 – 1582	E-5	195
podkomorzy of Bratslav	1582 – 1583	F-6	196
sekretarz królewski	1585 – 1586	H-8	198
PSB 25: 805 – 808	1589 – 90	I-9	199
	1591	K-10	200
Ievtyk Vasyl' Vysots'kyi	1569 – 1572, 1574	B-2	192
(Eutyk Wyssocki)			
Iakym Vysots'kyi	1576 – 1583	XD	216
(Joachym Wyssocki)	1588 – 1593	KB	217
sekretarz królewski			
Mykola Vas'kovs'kyi	1588 – 1589	K-10	200
(Mikołaj Waszkowski)			
Ian Novoselyts'kyi	1591 – 1597	K-10	200
(Jan Nowosielecki)			
Florian Semenovych Oleshko			
(Florian Oleszko)	1583 – 1585/	G-7	197
(ca. 1565 – 1628)	1588 – 1593/		
wojski of Volodymyr	1600 – 1603		
sekretarz królewski	1611 – 1613	Q-15	205
mayor (*voit*) of Kovel'	1605 – 1609	XF	218
PSB 23: 758 – 59	1595 – 98	L-11	201
	1613 – 19	S-17	207
	1600 – 1603	N-13	203
Zakhariia Bozhenets'			
Ielovyts'kyi (Zachariasz	1598 – 1603	M-12	202
Bozeniec Jełowicki)	1603 – 1606	O-14	204
(d. 1629)		metrica	
wojski of Kremenets'	1609	inspection	
stolnik of Kiev	1620 – 1623	T-18	208
sekretarz królewski	1626 – 1629	W-20	210
	1629	X-21	211

Notary	Dates of documents	Hankiewicz nos. (1673)	TsGADA nos. (fond 389)
Oleksandr Oleshkovych			
Krupets'kyi	1609	—	Kórnik 323
(Aleksander Krupetski)			
(ca. 1570–1652)			
GC bishop of Przemyśl			
(Peremyshl')			
PSB 15:406–407			
Ian Martsynkevych	1609–1612	—	[Kórnik 323]
(Jan Marcinkiewicz)	1613–1617	R-16	206
sekretarz królewski			
stolnik of Upita			
Feliks Khryshtofor Makosii	1616–1626	V-19	209
Bakovets'kyi			
(Feliks Krzysztof			
Mokosej Bakowiecki)			
(d. 1658)			
sekretarz królewski			
treasurer (*skarbnik*) of Volhynia			
Ian (Jan) Bederman	1631	W-20	210
(d. 1652)	1631	X-21	211
	1633–35/	Z-23	214
mayor (*voit*) of Kremenets'	1643, 1645–1647		
and later of Ovruts'	1637–1641	BX	215
	1635–41	XC	219
	1652	SB-24	220
Stefan Kazimierz Hankiewicz			
(Hankiewic)	1653–1654,	SB-24	220
(d. IV/1701)	1658–1673		
sekretarz królewski			
metrykant			
PSB 9:275–76			

APPENDIX 3: Crown Chancellors and Vice-Chancellors for the Ruthenian Metrica, 1569–1673

Dates of service	Vice-chancellor	TsGADA nos. (Hankiewicz nos.)	Dates of service	Chancellor	TsGADA nos. (Hankiewicz nos.)
12.I.1569– 6.IV.1574	Franciszek Krasiński (1525–1577) bishop of Cracow *PSB* 15: 171–73	191 (A-1)	17.IV.1564– V.1576	Walenty Dembiński (ca. 1504–16.X.1584) *PSB* 5: 78–79	192 (B-2)
6.IV.1574– 1576	Piotr Wolski (1530–20.VIII.1590) canon of Cracow bishop of Przemyśl (Peremyshl') and Płock	193 (C-3), 194 (D-4)			
2.V.1576– II.1578	Jan Zamoyski (19.III.1542–3.VI.1605)	216 (XD)	V.1576– II.1578	Piotr Wolski	194 (D-4)
1.III.1578– 13.IV.1584	Jan Borukowski (1524–1584) bishop of Przemyśl (Peremyshl') *PSB* 2: 354–56	195 (E-5), 196 (F-6)	1.III.1578– 3.VI.1605	Jan Zamoyski	216 (XD), 197 (G-7), 217 (KB), 202 (M-12)

Dates of service	Vice-chancellor	TsGADA nos. (Hankiewicz nos.)	Dates of service	Chancellor	TsGADA nos. (Hankiewicz nos.)
17.I.1585–1591	Wojciech Baranowski (1548–1615) bishop of Przemyśl (Peremyshl') 1608 primate *PSB* 1:286–89	198 (H-8), 199 (I-9), 200 (K-10)			
7.I.1591–11.IV.1598	Jan Tarnowski (1550–14.IX.1604) bishop of Poznań later primate of Gniezno	200 (K-10), 201 (L-11)			
13.IV.1598–II.1605	Piotr Tylicki (1543–1616) bishop of Cracow and earlier of Chełmno and Warmia	202 (M-12), 203 (N-13), 204 (O-14)			

Dates of service	Vice-chancellor	TsGADA nos. (Hankiewicz nos.)	Dates of service	Chancellor	TsGADA nos. (Hankiewicz nos.)
II.1605– IV.1606	Maciej Pstrokoński (ca. 1553–1609) bishop of Przemyśl (Peremyshl') *PSB* 29:265–71	204 (O-14), 218 (XF)			
IV.1606– VII.1607	Stanisław Miński (ca. 1561–21.VII.1607) *PSB* 21:320–22		IV.1606– I.1609	Maciej Pstrokoński	218 (XF)
1607– I.1609	Wawrzyniec Gembicki (1559–1624) bishop of Chełmno and Kujawy primate of Gniezno *PSB* 7:382–84				
22.I.1609– 1613	Feliks Kryski (1562–10.II.1618) *PSB* 15:482–85	[Kórnik 323]	I.1609– 17.III.1613	Wawrzyniec Gembicki	218 (XF), 205 (Q-15)

Dates of service	Vice-chancellor	TsGADA nos. (Hankiewicz nos.)	Dates of service	Chancellor	TsGADA nos. (Hankiewicz nos.)
2.III.1613– 7.III.1618	Henryk Firlej (1574–25.II.1626) bishop of Luts'k and Płock later primate *PSB* 6:477–78	209 (V-19)	18.III.1613– 10.II.1618	Feliks Kryski	205 (Q-15), 206 (R-16), 207 (S-17)
10.IV.1618– 1620	Andrzej Lipski (1572–1631) bishop of Luts'k, Kujawy, Cracow *PSB* 17:415–17	209 (V-19)	6.III.1618– 18.VIII.1620 (6.X.1620?)	Stanisław Żołkiewski (1547 or 1550–7.X.1620)	
22.XII.1620– 28.II.1625	Wacław Leszczyński (ca. 1576–1628) *PSB* 17:147–49	208 (T-18)	1620– II.1625	Andrzej Lipski	209 (V-19)
18.III.1625– 10.XI.1627 (summer 1627)	Stanisław Lubieński (1573–6.IV.1640) bishop of Luts'k and Płock *PSB* 18:498–501		28.II.1625 17.V.1628	Wacław Leszczyński	209 (V-19), 210 (W-20)

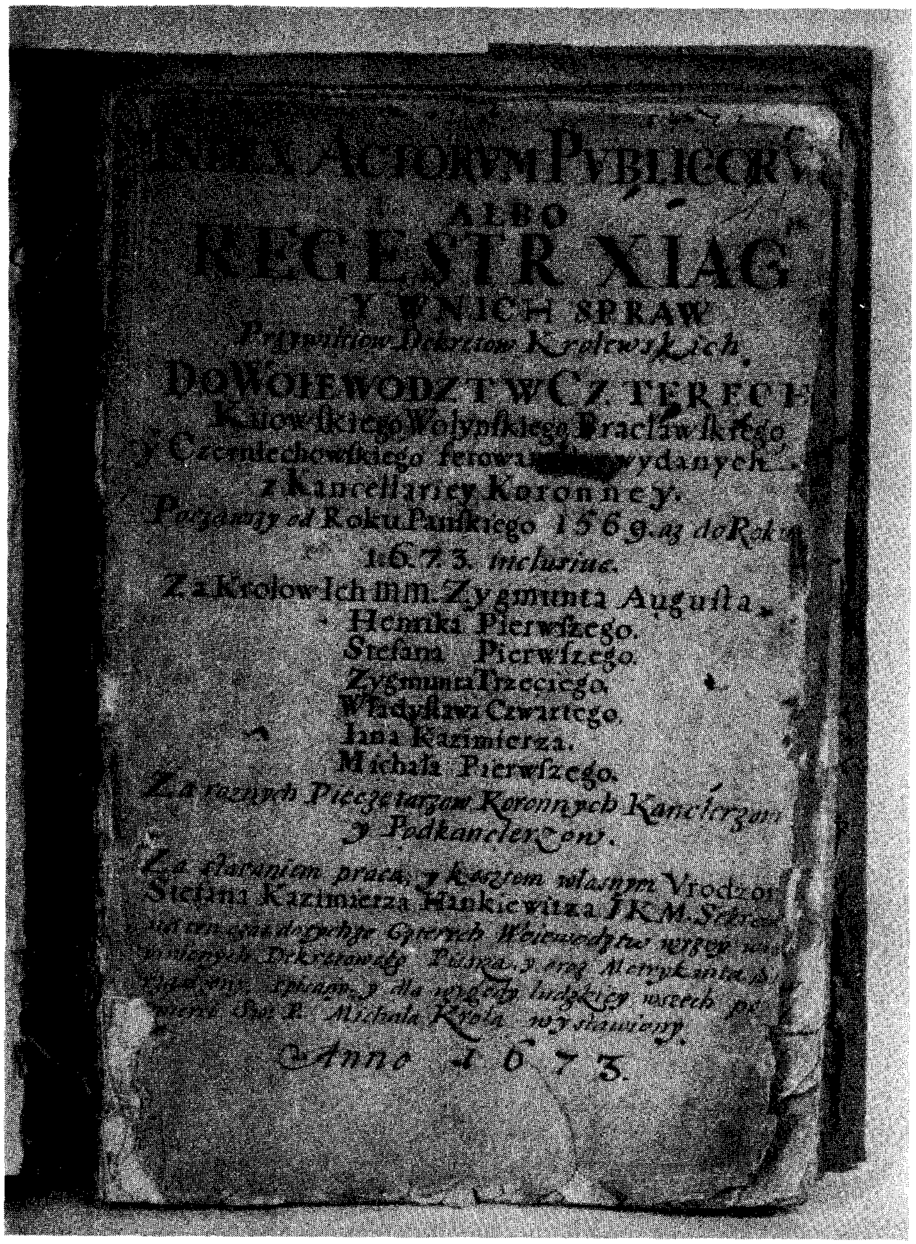
Dates of service	Vice-chancellor	TsGADA nos. (Hankiewicz nos.)	Dates of service	Chancellor	TsGADA nos. (Hankiewicz nos.)
summer 1627–1628	Jakób Zadzik (1582–17.III.1642) bishop of Chełmno and later of Cracow				
20.VII.1628– 11.XII.1635	Tomasz Zamoyski (1594–1638) *starosta* of Cracow		28.VII.1628– XI.1635 (17.IX.1635– bishop of Cracow)	Jakób Zadzik	210 (W-20), 211 (X-21), 214 (Z-23)
2.XII.1635– 20.III.1638	Piotr Gembicki (1585–1657) bishop of Przemyśl (Peremyshl') and later of Cracow *PSB* 7:379–81	219 (XC), 215 (BX)	12.XII.1635– 8.I.1638	Tomasz Zamoyski	219 (XC)
20.III.1638– 18.II.1643	Jerzy Ossoliński (1595–1650) palatine of Sandomierz marshal of Sejm *PSB* 24:403–10		15.IV.1638– 1642 (10.XI.1642– bishop of Cracow)	Piotr Gembicki	219 (XC), 215 (BX)

Dates of service	Vice-chancellor	TsGADA nos. (Hankiewicz nos.)	Dates of service	Chancellor	TsGADA nos. (Hankiewicz nos.)
4.III.1643 24.VII.1644	Alexander Trzebieński (–25.VII.1644) bishop of Przemyśl (Peremyshl')		28.II.1643– 9.VII.1650	Jerzy Ossoliński	214 (Z-23)
II.1645– 7.XII.1650	Andrzej Leszczyński (ca. 1608–1658) bishop of Kam''ianets'- Podil's'kyi and Chełmno later primate of Gniezno (1653) *PSB* 17: 105–107				
9.XII.1650– 20.I.1652	Hieronim Radziejowski (1612–1667) *starosta* of Łomża *PSB* 30: 50–63		8.XII.1650– 29.III.1653	Andrzej Leszczyński	220 (SB-24)
4.II.1652– 31.III.1653	Stefan Koryciński (1617–15.IV.1658) *PSB* 14: 131–33				
7.IV.1653– 1658	Andrzej Trzebicki (23.XI.1607–27.XII.1679) bishop of Przemyśl (Peremyshl')		2.IV.1653– 15.IV.1658 (25.II.1658– bishop of Cracow)	Stefan Koryciński	220 (SB-24)

Dates of service	Vice-chancellor	TsGADA nos. (Hankiewicz nos.)	Dates of service	Chancellor	TsGADA nos. (Hankiewicz nos.)
21.VII.1658– VIII.1658	Mikołaj Jan Prażmowski (1617–1673) bishop of Luts'k, later primate of Gniezno *PSB* 28: 382–89				
VIII.1658– 23.IX.1659	Bogusław Leszczyński (ca. 1612–59) hetman of Greater Poland *PSB* 17: 107–111		22.VIII.1658– 21.XII.1666	Mikołaj Jan Prażmowski	220 (SB-24)
15.V.1661– 22.XII.1666	Jan Leszczyński (1603–1678) hetman of Greater Poland palatine of Cracow *PSB* 17: 115–19				
22.XII.1666– III.1676	Andrzej Olszowski (1621–29.VIII.1677) bishop of Chełmno later primate of Gniezno 26.XI.1674 *PSB* 24: 42–46	220 (SB-24)	22.XII.1666– 20.X.1678	Jan Leszczyński	220 (SB-24)

Fig. 1

Inventory of the documents in the Ruthenian series of the Crown Metrica, compiled by Stefan Hankiewicz, 1673 (AGAD, TzwML VIII.1, fol. 1)



[illegible] ACTORVM PVBLICORV[illegible]
ALBO
REGESTR XIAG
Y W NICH SPRAW
Przywiliow Dekretow Krolewskich,
DO WOIEWODZTW CZTERECH
Kiiowskiego Wolynskiego Braclawskiego
y Czerniechowskiego [illegible] wydanych
z Kancellariey Koronney.
Poczawszy od Roku Panskiego 1569. aż do Roku
1673. inclusive.
Za Krolow Ich mm. Zygmunta Augusta,
Henrika Pierwszego.
Stefana Pierwszego.
Zygmunta Trzeciego.
Władysława Czwartego.
Jana Kazimierza.
Michała Pierwszego.
Za roznych Pieczętarzow Koronnych Kanclerzow
y Podkanclerzow.
Za staraniem pracą y kosztem własnym Vrodzon[illegible]
Stefana Kazimierza Hankiewitza JKM Sekre[illegible]
[illegible]
Anno 1673.

Fig. 2
Initial folio of the 1673 Hankiewicz inventory of the Ruthenian series of the Crown Metrica (AGAD, TzwML VIII.1, fol. 2)

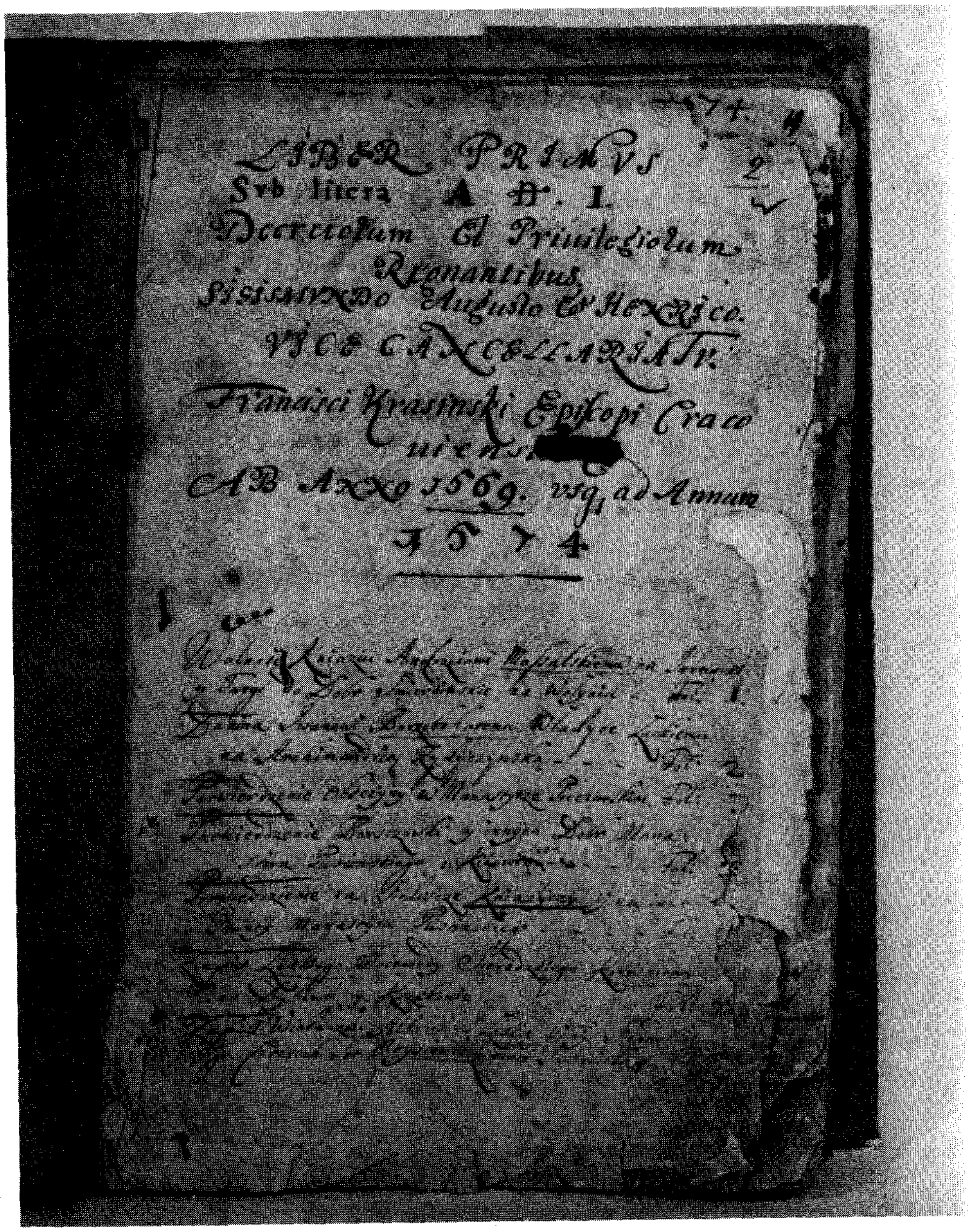

LIBER PRIMVS
Sub litera A A. 1
Decretorum Et Priuilegiorum
Regnantibus
SIGISMVNDO Augusto Et HENRICO.
VICE CANCELLARIATV
Francisci Krasinski Episcopi Craco
uiens[illegible]
AB ANNO 1569. usq; ad Annum
1574

Fig. 3

Original Cyrillic title page of the first book of the Ruthenian series, with documents from 1569–1574 (Hankiewicz, book A-1) (TsGADA, fond 389, opis' 1, no. 191, fol. II)

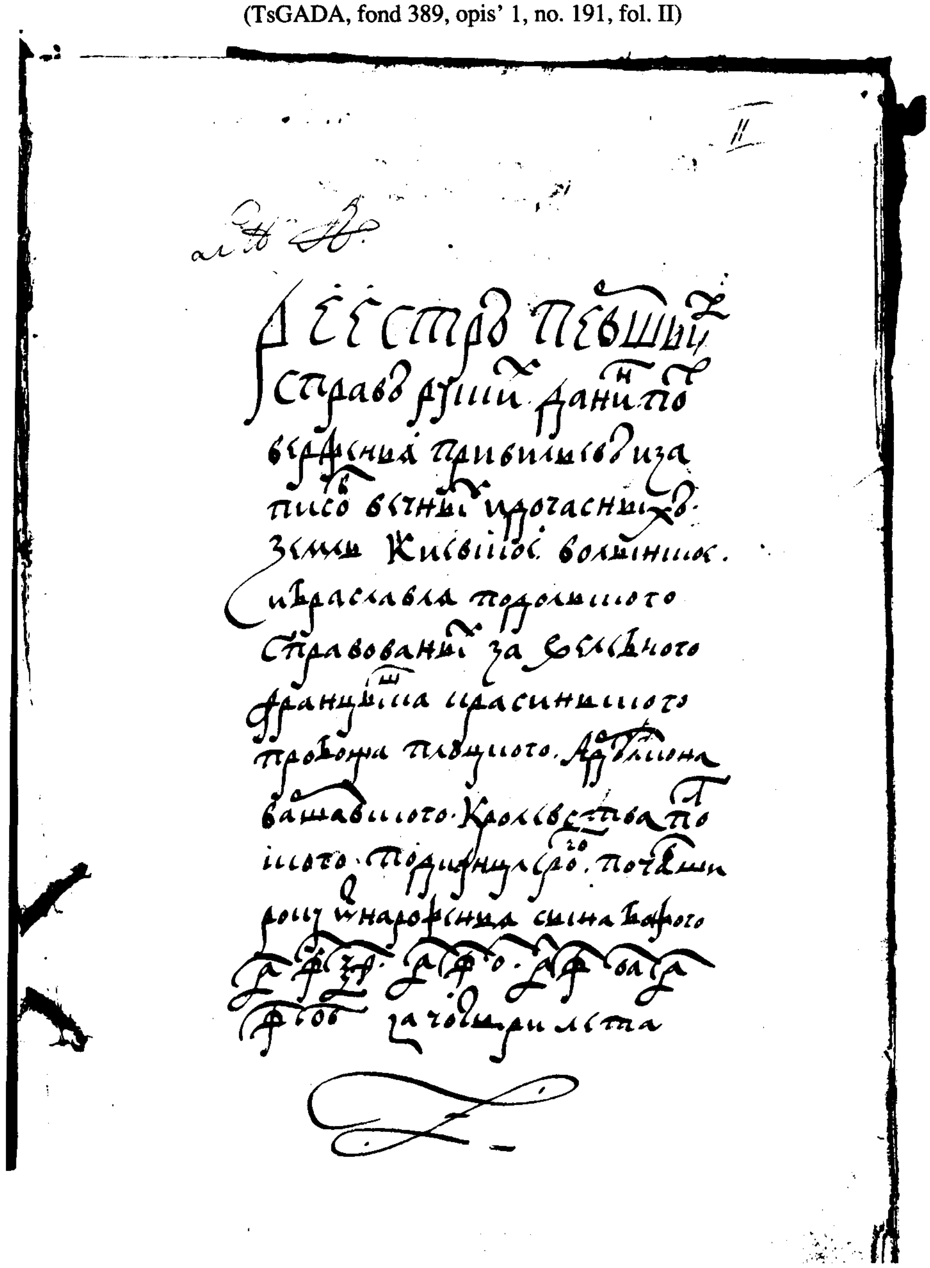


Fig. 4
Final document recorded in the first book of the Ruthenian series: An official description of boundaries between the palatinates of Bratslav, Kiev, and Podolia, 1574 (TsGADA, fond 389, opis' 1, no. 191, fol. 310)

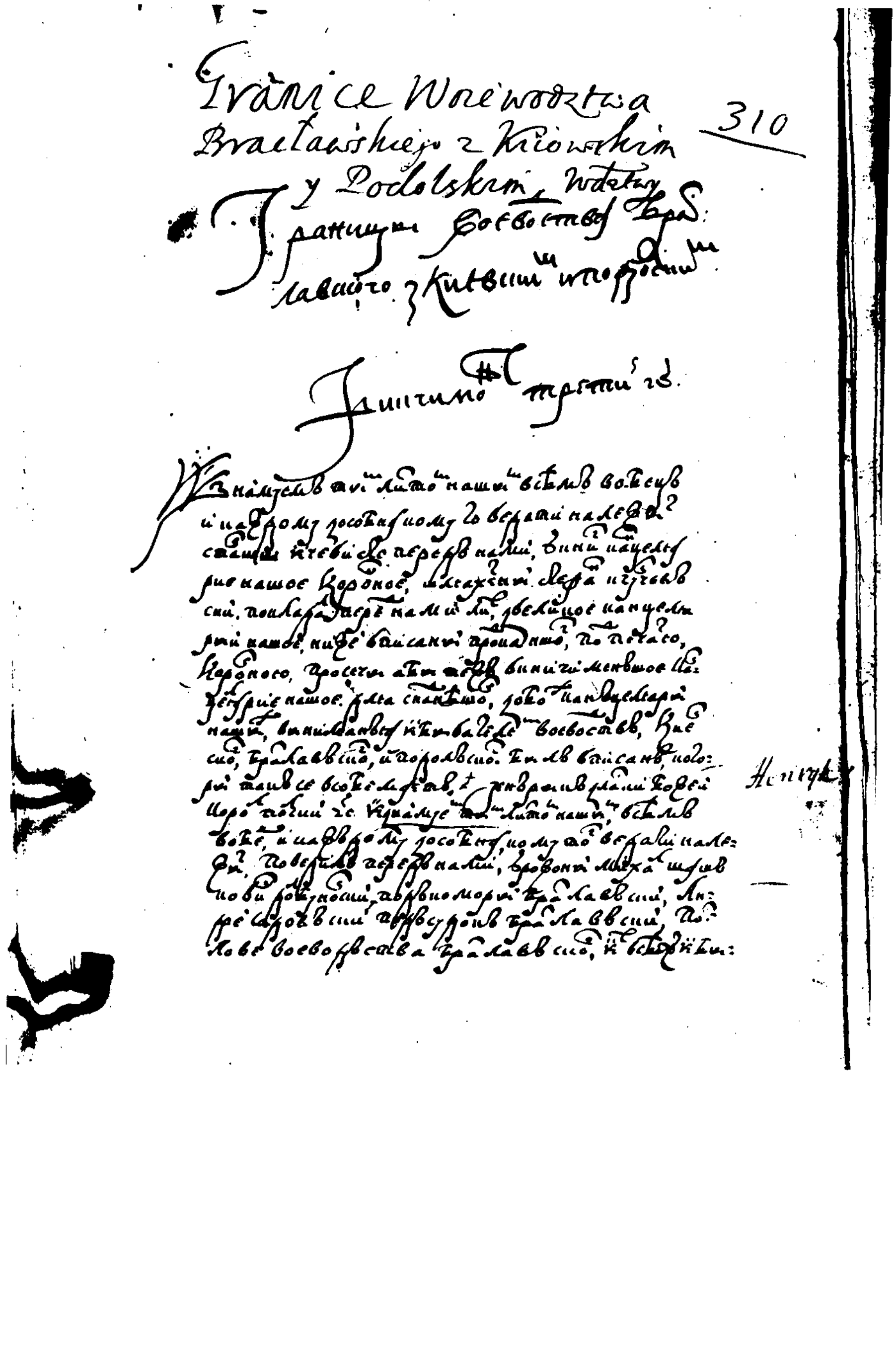


Fig. 5

Copy of the start of a royal charter of privilege granting Magdeburg Law and the right to hold fairs to the city of Medzhurych, 1605, from book O-14 (TsGADA, fond 389, opis' 1, no. 204, fol. 79v)

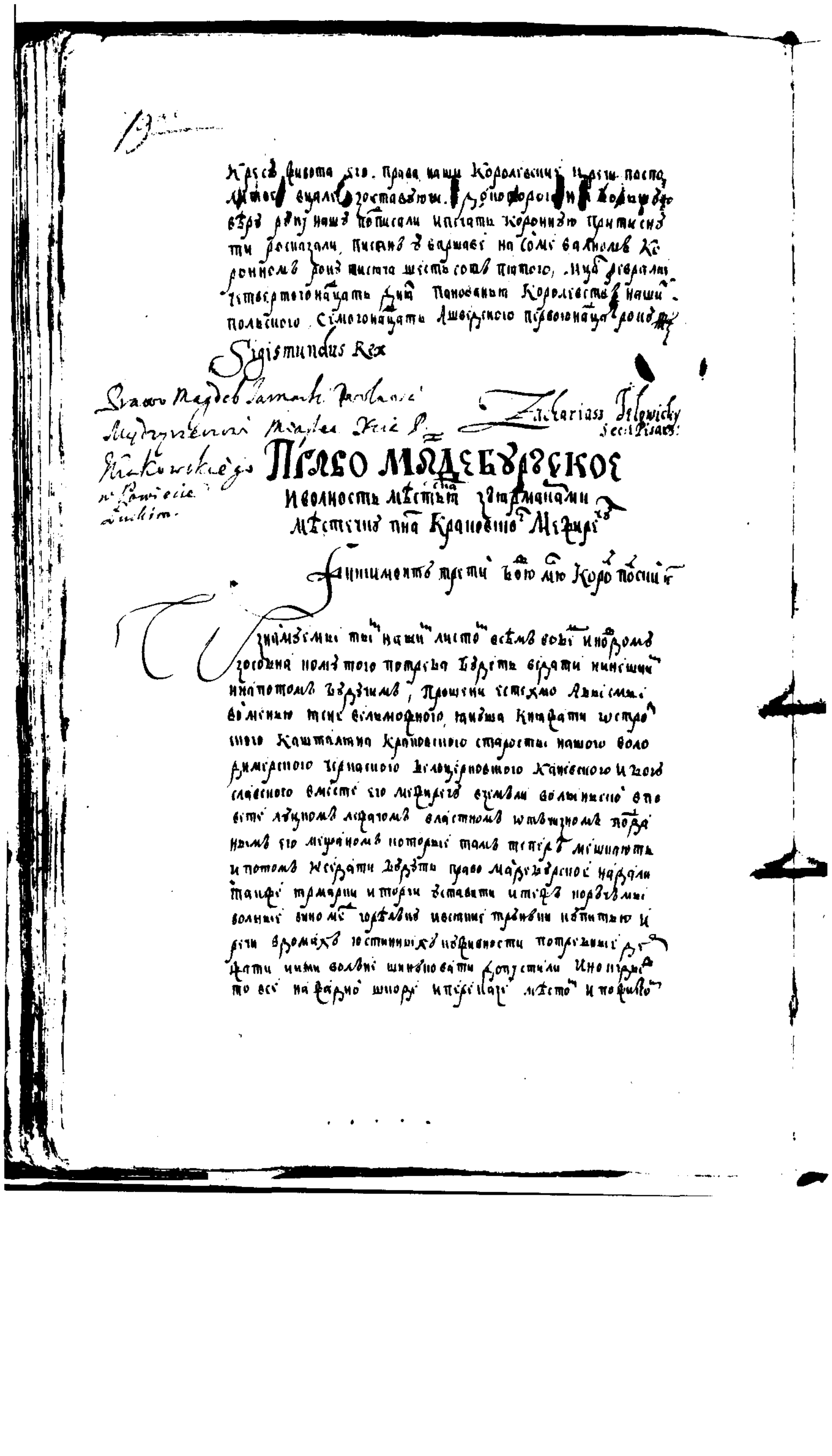


Fig. 6

Initial folio of book T-18, with the start of the first document concerning the legacy (*kaduk*) of Marcin Ostrowski, 1620 (TsGADA, fond 389, opis' 1, no. 208, fol. 1)

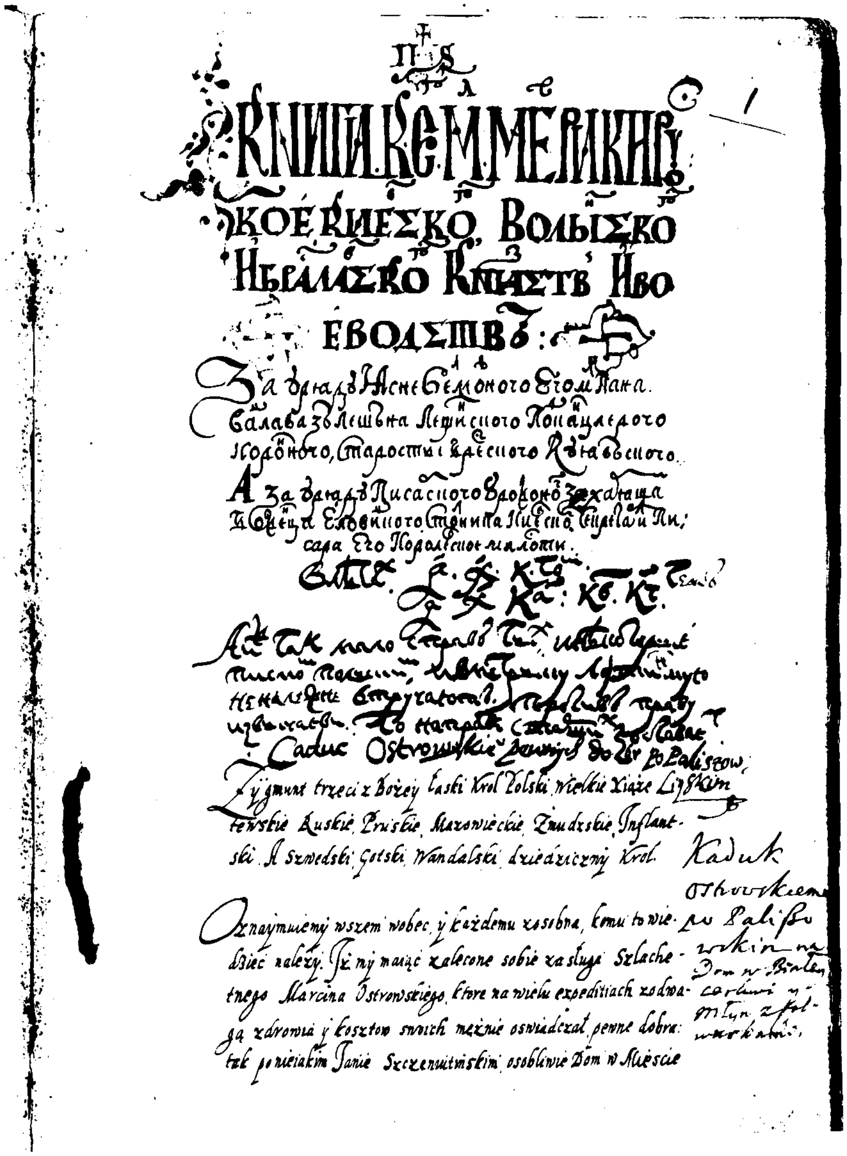


Fig. 7
Original Cyrillic title page of book W-20 of the Ruthenian series,
with documents from the years 1626–1629
(TsGADA, fond 389, opis' 1, no. 210, fol. II)

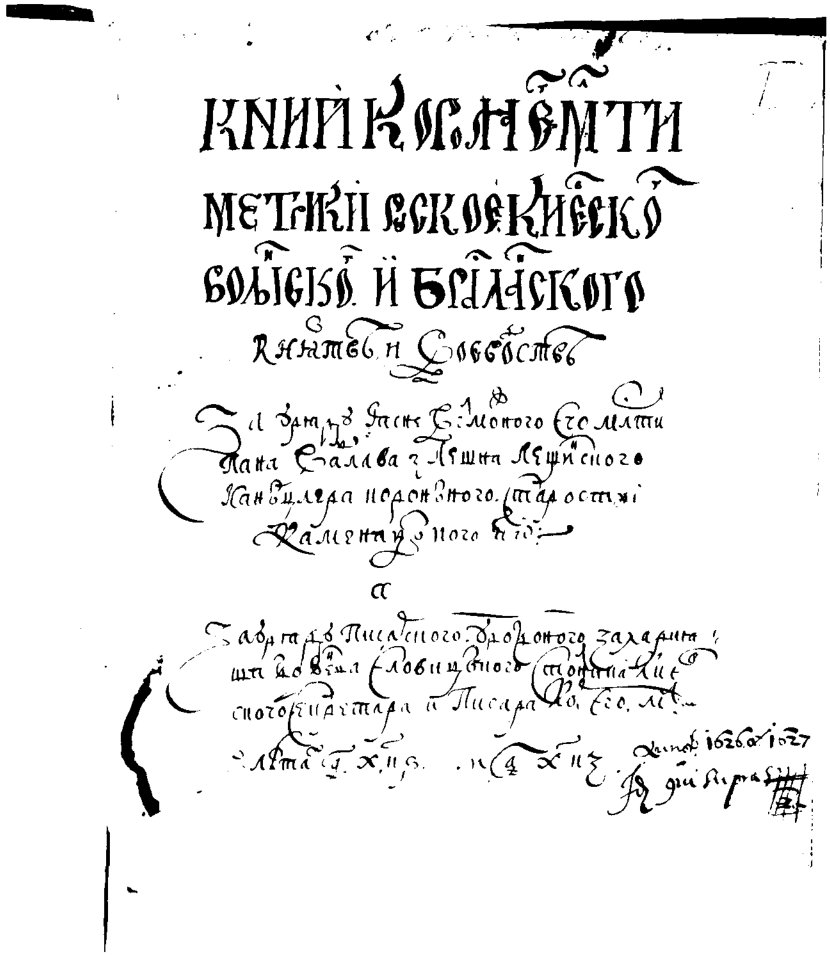


Fig. 8
Polish title page of book Z-23[24] of the Ruthenian series,
with documents from the years 1633 to 1647
(TsGADA, fond 389, opis' 1, no. 214, fol. II)

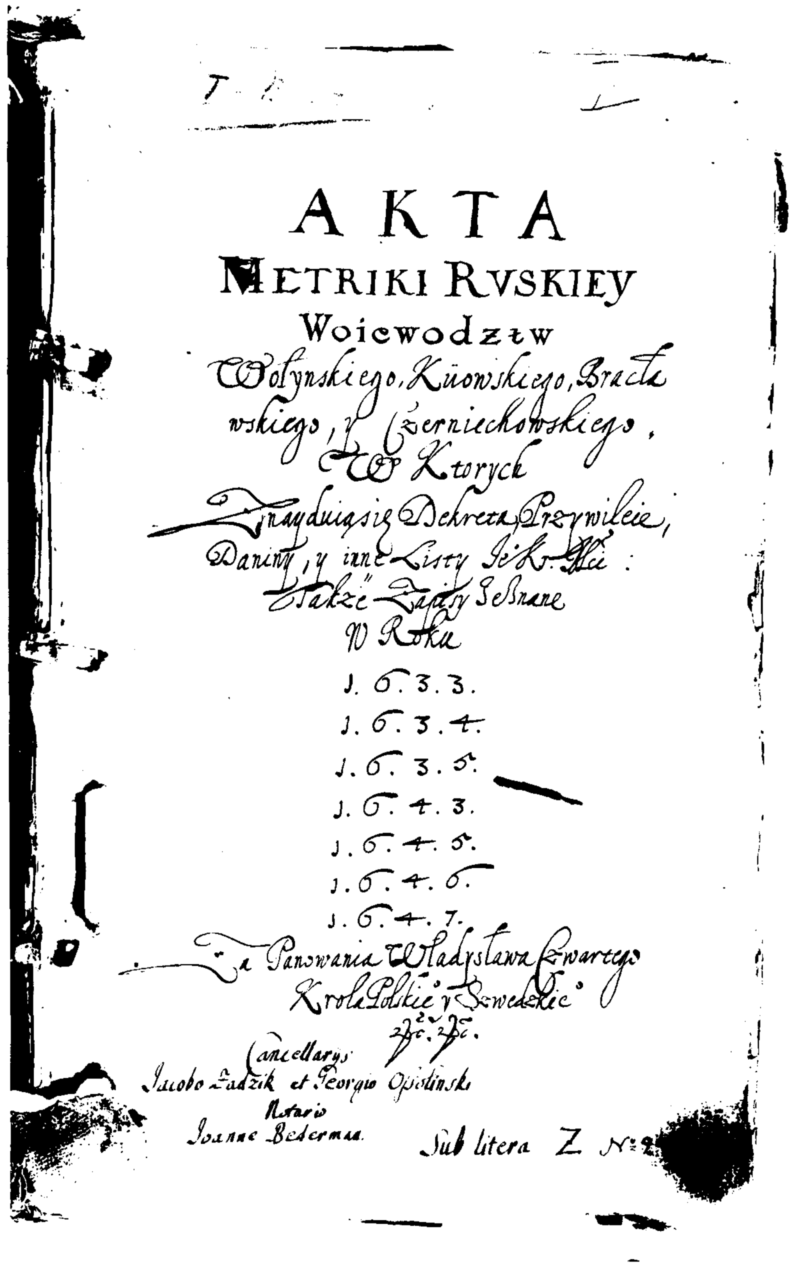
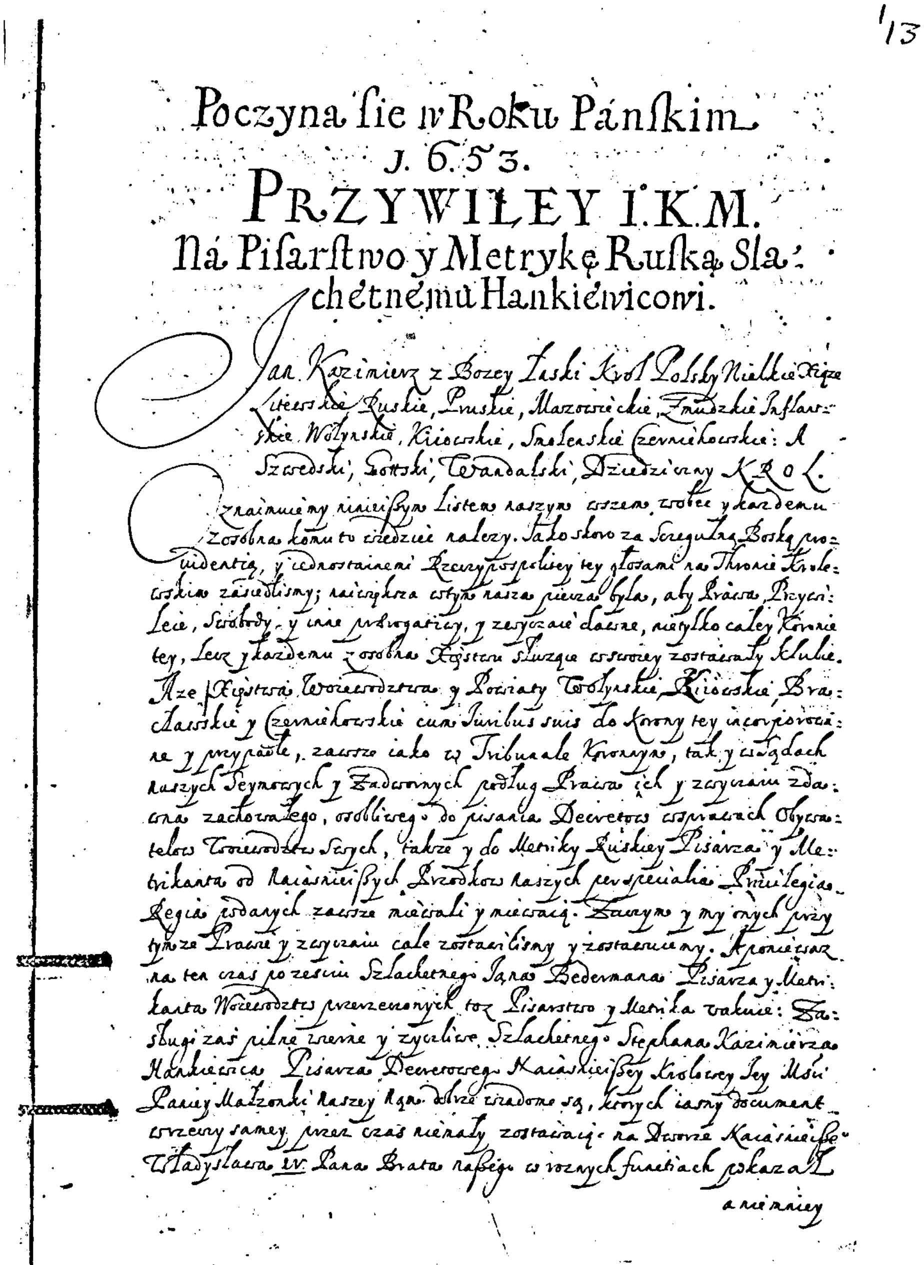
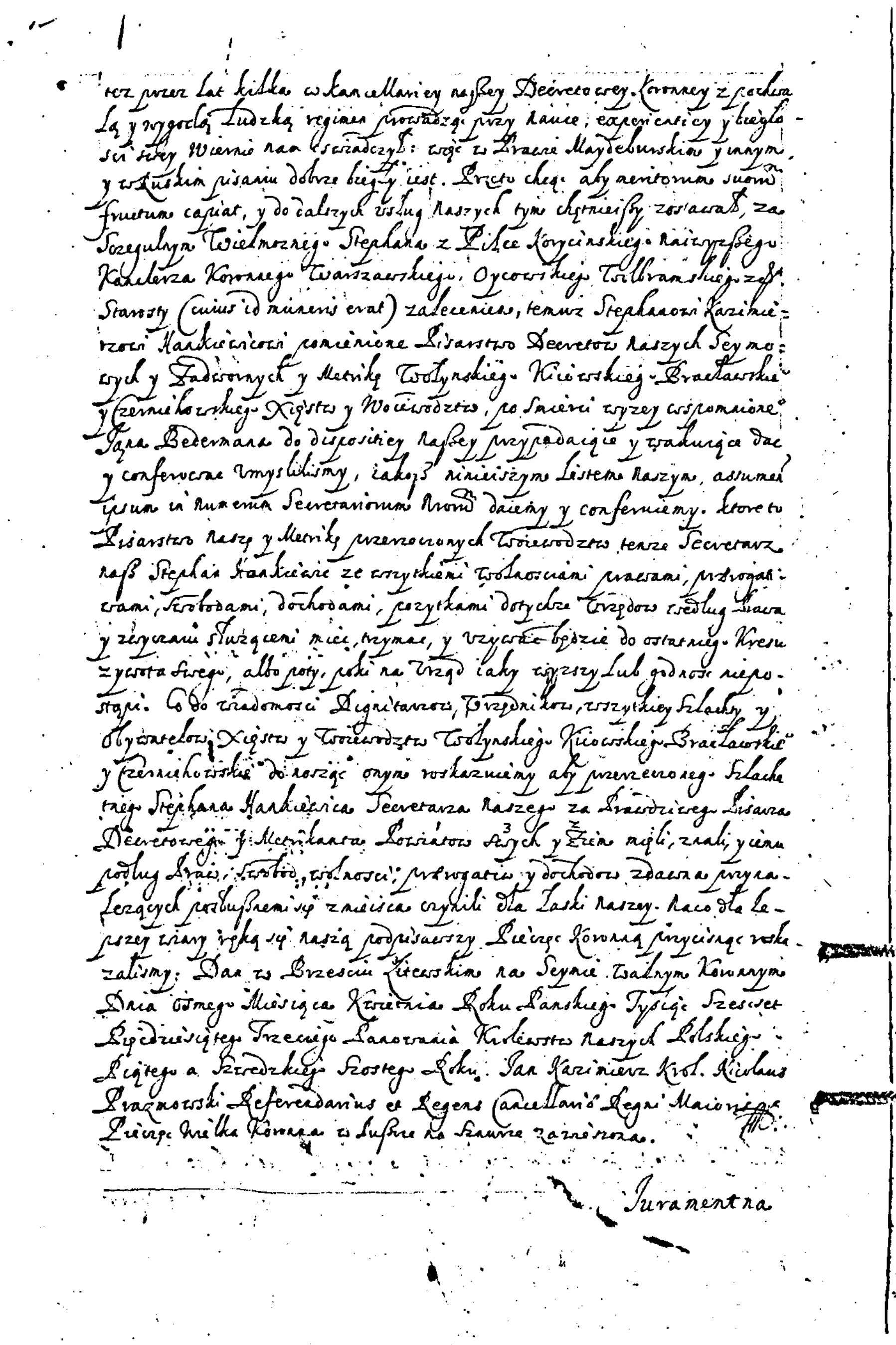


Fig. 9

Charter of privilege granting the office of Ruthenian notary for decrees to Stefan Hankiewicz, from the last book of the Ruthenian series (The document is dated 1653, but may have been added in 1658) (TsGADA, fond 389, opis' 1, no. 22, fol. 13 and 13v)

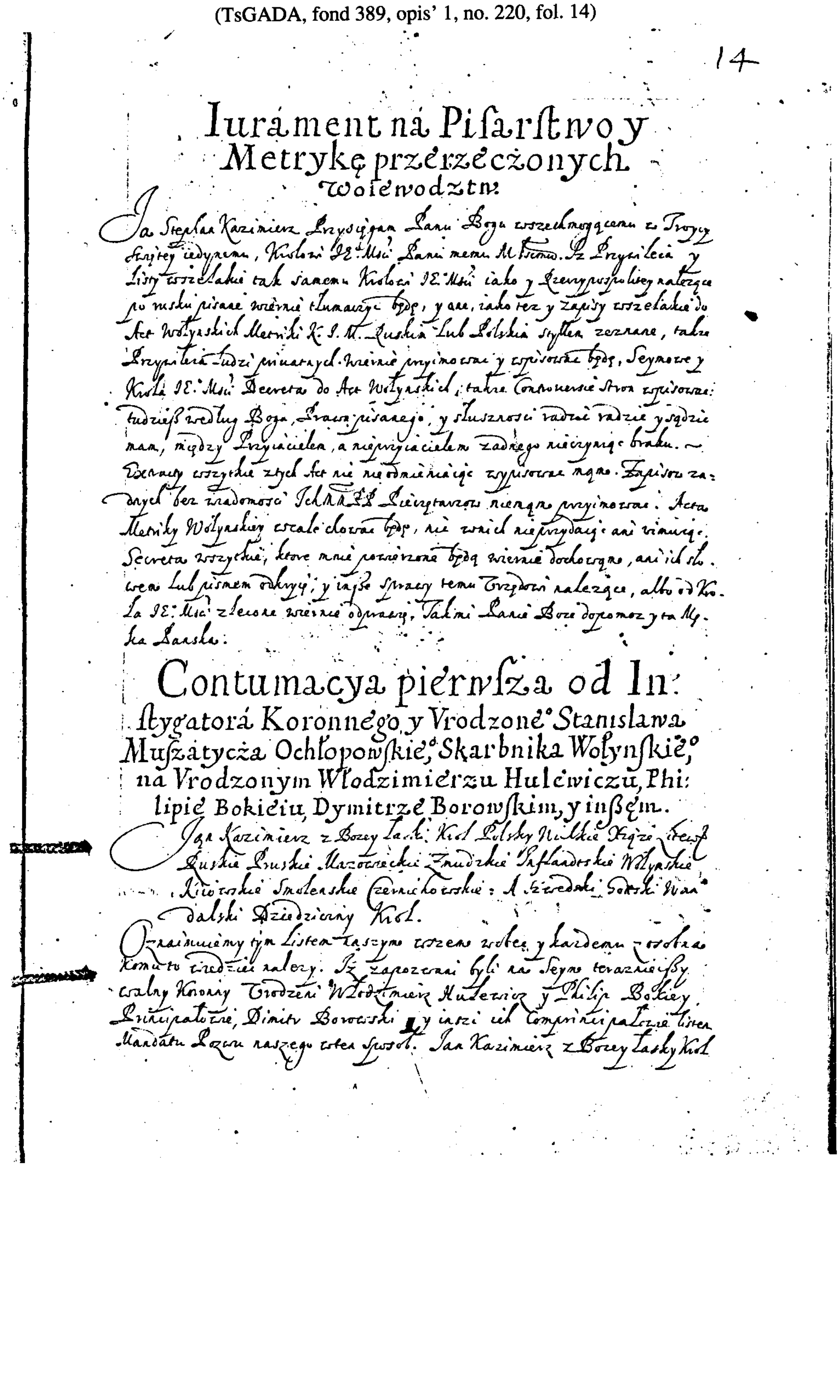



rez przez lat kilka w Kancellariey naszey Decretowey Koronney z pochwałą y wzgorą ludzką regimen prowadząc przy tamże, experientiey y biegłości swey wiernie nam usłużył: tudzież w Prawie Maydeburskim y innym y wszelkim pisaniu dobrze biegły iest. Przeto chcąc aby merentium suom fructum capiat, y do dalszych usług naszych tym chętnieyszy zostawał, za szczegulnym Wielmożnego Stephana z Pilcze Koryćinskiego Naywyższego Kanclerza Koronnego Warszawskiego, Oycowskiego Wolbramskiego etc. Starosty (cuius id muneris erat) zaleceniem, temuż Stephanowi Kazimierzowi Hankiewiczowi pomienione Pisarstwo Decretow naszych Seymowych y Zadwornych y Metrikę Wołynskiego Kiiowskiego Braclawskie y Czernihowskiego Xięstw y Woiewodztw, po śmierci wyżey wspomnionego Jana Bedermana do dispositiey naszey przypadaiące y wakuiące dać y conferować umyśliliśmy, iakoż niniejszym Listem naszym, assumendo ipsum in numerum Secretariorum Nostrorum dajemy y conferujemy. Ktore to Pisarstwo nasze y Metrikę przerzeczonych Woiewodztw tenże Secretarz nasz Stephan Hankiewicz ze wszystkiemi wolnościami, prawami, prerogatiwami, swobodami, dochodami, pożytkami dotychczas urzędow według prawa y zwyczaiu służącemi mieć, trzymać, y używać będzie do ostatniego kresu żywota swego, albo poty, poki na urząd iaky wyższy lub godność nie postąpi. Co do wiadomości Dignitarzow, Urzędnikow, wszystkiey Szlachty y Obywatelow Xięstw y Woiewodztw Wołynskiego Kiiowskiego Braclawskie y Czernihowskie donosząc onym roskazujemy aby przerzeczonego Szlachetnego Stephana Hankiewica Secretarza naszego za prawdziwego Pisarza Decretowego y Metrikanta Powiatow ...ych y Ziem mieli, znali, y ... podług praw, swobod, wolnosci, prerogatiw y dochodow zdawna przynależących posłusznemi się znaiące czynili dla łaski naszey. Naco dla lepszey wiary ręką się naszą podpisawszy Pieczęć Koronną przycisnąć roskazaliśmy. Dan w Brzesciu Litewskim na Seymie Walnym Koronnym Dnia osmego Miesiąca Kwietnia Roku Panskiego Tysiąc Szescset Pięcdziesiątego Trzeciego Panowania Krolewstw naszych Polskiego Piątego a Szwedzkiego Szostego Roku. Jan Kazimierz Krol. Nicolaus Prazmowski Referendarius et Regens Cancellariae Regni Maioris. Pieczęć wielka Koronna w Puszce na sznurze zawieszona.

Juramentna

Fig. 10

Oath of office as Ruthenian notary for Stefan Hankiewicz,
from the last book of the Ruthenian series
(TsGADA, fond 389, opis' 1, no. 220, fol. 14)


14

Iurament ná Piſárſtwo y Metrykę przérzéczonych Woiéwodztw.

Contumacya pierwſza od Inſtygatorá Koronnégo y Vrodzoné Stániſláwá Muſzátyczá Ochłopowſkié Skárbniká Wołynſkié ná Vrodzonym Włodzimiérzu Hulewiczu, Philipié Bokiéiu, Dymitrzé Borowſkim, y inßém.

The First Edition (1651) of Beauplan's *Description d'Ukranie*

DENNIS F. ESSAR AND ANDREW B. PERNAL

I. INTRODUCTION

In 1660, the Rouen publisher Jacques Cailloué[1] produced an edition of the *Description d'Ukranie*[2] by Guillaume Le Vasseur, sieur de Beauplan,[3] that was to become one of our best known and most frequently re-edited sources on seventeenth-century Ukrainian culture and society. This modest book, consisting of eight introductory pages plus 112 pages of text, accompanied by an important map[4] and eight woodcut illustrations,[5] was republished and translated in its entirety a total of at least seventeen times, including at least

[1] A short notice on the Cailloué family is given in Édouard-Benjamin Frère, *Manuel du bibliographe normand*, vol. 1 (Rouen, 1858; rpt'd Geneva, 1971), pp. 170–72.

[2] DESCRIPTION | D'VKRANIE, | QVI SONT PLVSIEVRS | Prouinces du Royaume de | Pologne. | CONTENVËS DEPVIS | les confins de la Moscouie, iusques | aux limites de la Transilvanie. | *ENSEMBLE LEVRS MOEVRS,* | *façons de viures, & de faire la Guerre.* | Par le Sieur de BEAVPLAN. | [ornament] | A ROVEN, | Chez IACQVES CAILLOÜÉ, dans | la Cour du Palais. | [single rule] | M. DC. LX.

pp. [viii]. 1–48, 47, 50–51, 50–51, 54–55, 54, 57–112; 19 x 14 cm; contains eight illustrations and one map.

[3] Biographical details are given in A. B. Pernal and D. F. Essar, "The 1673 Variant of Beauplan's General Map of Ukraine," *Cartographica* 20, no. 4 (Winter 1983): 92–98; idem, "The 1652 Beauplan Maps of the Ukraine," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* (hereafter *HUS*), 9, no. 1/2 (June 1985): 61–84; and D. F. Essar and A. B. Pernal, "Le Vasseur de Beauplan on Ports in Normandy and Brittany: An Unknown Letter to Jean-Baptiste Colbert," forthcoming.

[4] Carte d'Vkranie | Contenant plusieurs Prouinces com= | prises entre les Confins de Moscouie et | les Limittes de Transiluanie | Dressez par G.L.V. sieur de Beauplan | Ingenieur et Capitaine de l'Artillerie du | serenissime Roy de Pologne. | A Rouen | Chez Jacques Cailloue dans la Cour du Pallais; scale 1: 1 800 000; oriented towards the south; 42 x 54.5 cm; a cartouche showing Crimea is glued to the upper left-hand corner of the map. This is the first variant of the third edition of the map. For futher details concerning Beauplan's "general" maps of the Ukraine, see Pernal and Essar, "The 1673 Variant," pp. 92–98, and Pernal and Essar, "The 1652 Beauplan Maps," pp. 64–66.

[5] The illustrations in the 1660 edition consist of: (1) a Byzantine coin (p. 10); (2) a Tatar cart (p. 36); (3) a sketch map showing the route between two rivers followed by the Tatars during an incursion into the Ukraine (p. 48); (4) an illustration of how the Tatars spread themselves out in a regular pattern across the countryside during an incursion (bound after first page numbered 50); (5) a Tatar horseman crossing a river (second page numbered 51); (6) a Cossack boat for raiding on the Black Sea (bound after second page numbered 54); (7) and (8) a Cossack shelter for sleeping (pp. 75 and 77).

two re-editions by Cailloué himself,[6] and portions of the text appeared, sometimes in adapted form, in a further twenty-five publications.[7]

Any persistent bibliographical inquiry into the various versions of Beauplan's book will reveal the reason why the 1660 edition was the one chosen by so many commentators and translators. It is simply the easiest of the Cailloué editions to locate even to this day; numerous copies are preserved in various major European and North American libraries. The fact that this text has appeared, in whole or in part, in a total of eight European languages over a period of some 325 years attests to its universal and continous appeal.

It must be noted, however, that the 1660 edition of Beauplan's book is not the first one. This fact is mentioned by Cailloué himself in a note to the reader that is included among the introductory materials of the 1660 edition:

> Dear reader, ten years ago the author of this book entrusted to me the printing of a hundred copies, which were presented only to his friends. However, because when many people read the book, they found it not displeasing, and indeed, on the

[6] The first of Cailloué's two re-editions of the 1660 version of Beauplan's work bears the date 1661, and was produced in Rouen for sale by the Paris bookseller Simon Le Sourd. Another bears the date 1673, when a number of unsold copies of the 1660 edition were again placed on the market, the date on the title page having been modified using a hand stamp. (See D. F. Essar and A. B. Pernal, "Beauplan's *Description d'Ukranie*: A Bibliography of Editions and Translations," *HUS* 6, no. 4 (December 1982): 485–99, especially 488–89 and 492.) According to the *Deutscher Gesamtkatalog: Herausgegeben von der Preußischen Staatsbibliothek*, vol. 14 (Berlin, 1939), col. 97, a copy of Beauplan's book bearing the date 1662 was held by the Preußische Staatsbibliothek in Berlin. This copy (described as follows: "Roüen: Cailloüé 1662. 112 S. 8^{0}") bore the call number Uf 8036. In reply to our inquiries, both the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz in West Berlin and the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in East Berlin have stated that the volume cannot be located in their collections, and that it may have either been destroyed during the Second World War or lost during one of the numerous transfers of material that took place at that time. We suspect that if in fact this book exists, it is another re-edition of the 1660 edition, with either a new title page or simply a modified date, as in the case of the 1673 edition. Apart from the title page of the 1661 edition, which was completely reset, all the pages of all three confirmed editions were produced from the same formes. Since it is known that printers of the hand press period kept the completed formes from which a work was printed no longer than was necessary to produce the required number of printed pages, it is clear that the text of the three editions was printed by Cailloué in Rouen over a period of several weeks either in 1660, or perhaps including the first weeks of 1661. In the text of these three editions we have been able to find only three variants, all of a completely insignificant nature (two spelling corrections and a spacing variant). These are the sort of corrections made by artisans during the printing of a single sheet, the errors being corrected in the formes as they were detected. They do not indicate that the work was reprinted a second or third time.

[7] Re-editions of the entire Beauplan text are described in detail in Essar and Pernal, "Beauplan's *Description d'Ukranie*." A complete bibliography of all editions, adaptations, and translations, including partial ones, will be included in our forthcoming English translation of the *Description.*

contrary, spoke very well of it as deserving a second and larger printing, I believed that in satisfying their particular curiosity, I would do no disservice to the public by reprinting it in an expanded and corrected version.[8]

Most bibliographers, simply taking Cailloué at his word, have thus hypothesized the existence of a 1650 edition, which in almost all cases they assume to be the first.[9] Our extensive bibliographical inquiries in various European libraries and archives have failed to produce the slightest shred of evidence corroborating the claims of these bibliographers. On the other hand, we have located four copies of a somewhat shorter edition dating from 1651 and appearing under the different title *Description des contrées du royaume de Pologne*.[10] We are persuaded that the version of Beauplan's

[8] *Description d'Ukranie*, p. [viii]. (Our translation.)

[9] Bibliographers and commentators who have perpetuated the myth of a 1650 edition include: Frère, *Manuel du bibliographe normand*, vol. 1 (1858), p. 82; Karol Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska* (Cracow, 1870–1903), pt. 3, vol. 1, p. 423 (while citing the 1651 edition and erroneously correcting its date to 1650, Estreicher also describes a 1640 edition, with a title similar to that of the 1651 edition but with the pagination of the 1660 edition; could this peculiar volume have been a preliminary version of the 1660 edition, with an error in the printing of the date?); V. T. Liaskorons'kyi, *Gil'om Levasser-de-Boplan i ego istoriko-geograficheskie trudy otnositel'no Iuzhnoi Rossii* (Kiev, 1901), p. vi; Émile Bourgeois and Louis André, *Les Sources de l'histoire de France: XVII*[e] *siècle (1610–1715)*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1913), p. 129; Il'ko Borshchak, "Giiom Levasser de Boplan 1672 [sic]—6.XII—1923 (Z nahody 250 rokiv ioho smerty)," *Litopys polityky, pys'menstva i mystetstva* 1, no. 1 (1923): 8; A. Anthiaume, "Le Dieppois Guillaume Le Vasseur, sieur de Beauplan, ingénieur du roi au XVII[e] siècle," *Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques. Bulletin de la section de géographie* 43 (1928): 211; Élie Borschak [Il'ko Borshchak], *L'Ukraine dans la littérature de l'Europe occidentale* (Paris, 1935), p. 156 (repeating the information reported by Estreicher); R. Hervé, "Levasseur de Beauplan's Maps of Normandy and Brittany," *Imago Mundi* 17 (1963): 73; and Christian Nicaise, ed., in Beauplan, *Description d'Ukranie* (Rouen, 1985), p. [vii]. It should be noted, however, that certain authors not only have questioned the existence of the 1650 edition, but also have correctly identified those of 1651 and 1660. See, for example: V. Kordt, *Materialy po istorii russkoi kartografii*, pt. 2 (Kiev, 1910), p. 18; Karol Buczek, "Ze studiów nad mapami Beauplana," *Wiadomości Służby Geograficznej* 7, no. 1 (1933): 33–34; Czesław Chowaniec, "Une Carte militaire polonaise au XVII[e] siècle. (Les origines de la carte de l'Ukraine dressée par Guillaume Le Vasseur de Beauplan)," *Revue internationale d'histoire militaire* 3 (1952): 548; and Zbigniew Wójcik, ed., *Eryka Lassoty i Wilhelma Beauplana Opisy Ukrainy* (Warsaw, 1972), p. 42.

[10] DESCRIPTION | DES CONTREES | DV ROYAVME DE | POLOGNE, | CONTENVËS DEPVIS | les confins de la Moscouie, iusques | aux limites de la Transilvanie. | Par le Sieur de BEAVPLAN. | [ornament] | A ROVEN, | Chez IACQVES CAILLOÜÉ, tenant | sa boutique dans la Cour du Palais. | [single rule] | M. DC. LI.
pp. [viii].79.[80]; 20 x 15 cm.

This edition contains the same woodcut illustrations as the 1660 edition, printed from the same blocks as the illustrations in the 1660 and subsequent Cailloué editions. The second illustration in the 1660 edition, that of a Tatar cart, is not present, however.

In a prefatory note to the 1651 edition Beauplan promises a map (p. [viii]), but in the four copies we have examined (British Library [London], Bibliothèque universitaire de Nancy [Nancy], Biblioteka Czartoryskich [Cracow], and Biblioteka Narodowa [Warsaw]), it is absent.

Description d'Ukranie with which this article is concerned is in fact the first edition, and that Cailloué's mention of a period of ten years is to be taken as approximate.

II. DESCRIPTION OF THE 1651 EDITION

In this article we provide a list of significant differences between the 1651 edition of the text and the much better known version of 1660. Since the latter text is likely to be the one most readily available to interested readers,[11] we shall use it as the basis for our comparison, listing important variants of the 1651 text with reference to the corresponding pages of the 1660 edition, and providing both the original French text and an English translation of passages that appear in the 1651 version but not in that of 1660. With a copy of the 1660 text in hand, the reader can thus reconstruct a precise representation of the 1651 edition.

Although Beauplan and Cailloué neglected to provide the helpful set of subtitles and textual divisions to which the modern reader has become accustomed, the text of the 1660 edition may be divided into three major portions.[12] The first, consisting of eight unnumbered introductory pages,

[11] Readers who do not have access to a copy of the 1660 edition may consult the 1985 facsimile edition by Christian Nicaise (see fn. 9) or our annotated French edition entitled *La Description d'Ukranie de Guillaume Le Vasseur de Beauplan* (Ottawa, 1990), both of which contain indications of the pagination of the 1660 edition.

[12] The following is a complete table of contents of the 1660 edition. Section titles that we have supplied are given in brackets. Others appear as in the original.

includes the title page, a blank page, a dedicatory notice addressed to John Casimir, King of Poland,[13] an "Avertissement" by Beauplan intended for his readers, and the note by Cailloué to which we have already referred, and which explains the reasons for republishing the text.

The second part of the text, comprising pages 1 to 89 in the 1660 edition, is concerned with Ukrainian cities and towns, with the Cossack and Tatar inhabitants of the region (including a description of their military tactics and a number of their more savory and exotic customs), and, finally, with the climate, flora, fauna, and endemic diseases of this part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Certainly it is this portion of the text that has drawn the attention of most readers through the centuries, due both to the attraction of things exotic among seventeenth- and eighteenth-century European readers, and to the rising tide of Ukrainian national feeling throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It is only during the last one hundred years, however, that Beauplan's text has been studied by commentators as a historical and editorial phenomenon worthy of attention in its own right, again due in large part to this middle section.

The final segment of the book (pp. 89–112) contains material concerned entirely with Poland, and in particular with royal electoral procedures and privileges, with the military equipment favored by Polish nobles, and with their festive celebrations, in which Beauplan was no doubt from time to time an energetic and appreciative participant. While of questionable historical value, this section, especially the last portion, is probably the most amusing part of the text for the reader who seeks to form an idea of Beauplan's singular character. In the section's closing paragraph, Beauplan apologizes to the reader for his lack of grace and style, qualities which he judges unbefitting to "a cavalier who has spent all of his life in the shifting of earth, the casting of cannon, and the burning of saltpeter."[14]

The most significant differences between the 1651 and 1660 editions of the text are a slightly different group of introductory texts and important additions to the text of the later edition. The introductory materials of the

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[Part III: Poland]		89–112
[Election of the King]	89–92	
[Royal obligations and privileges]	92–95	
[Freedoms of Polish nobility]	95–100	
[Description of Polish nobility]	100–102	
[Military equipment]	102–104	
[Banquets]	104–112	
[Conclusion]	112	

13 John Casimir, King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania (1648–1668).

14 *Description d'Ukranie*, p. 112. (Our translation.)

1651 edition (pp. [i–viii]) include the original title page (p. [i]), the same prefatory notice addressed to King John Casimir (pp. [iii–vii]), the same text "*AVX LECTEVRS*" (p. [viii]), and a further "ADVERTISSEMENT" (p. [viii]) that is not present in the 1660 edition. Of course, Cailloué's 1660 notice to the reader is absent in the 1651 edition.

The contents of the second and concluding part of the 1651 edition (pp. 1–[80]) are as follows:

In the part of the text devoted to the Ukraine, the two important sections we have entitled "Easter celebrations" (pp. 68–72 in the 1660 edition) and "Climate" (pp. 85–89) are not present in the 1651 edition. The entire third section of the 1660 text (pp. 89–112), containing the material dealing with Poland, is also absent.

The remaining common portions of text present numerous differences, ranging from entirely new material in the 1660 edition to insignificant typographical variants and varying use of abbreviation. Not counting variations in the spelling of the word "lieue" (which appears as "lieuë" and as "lieüe"), variations that we regarded as too trivial to enumerate, we have identified some 650 variants in all. However, only those variants that present significant differences have been noted in the list that follows. These differences include all additions or deletions to the common sections of text, all word substitutions, and all spelling variants of proper nouns (excepting those involving the use of diaeresis or capital letters). Variants not noted include different spellings of words that are not proper nouns, as noted above, varying use of abbreviation, spacing variants, punctuation variants where meaning is not affected, and the substitution of arabic numerals for names of numbers and vice versa. Nor have we noted catchwords, except when necessary to establish the complete text.

In our enumeration, the following information is given for each variant: page and line number in the 1660 edition, the version found in the 1660 edition, and, finally, the variant found in the original edition of 1651, preceded by the letter "O."

DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN THE 1660 AND 1651 EDITIONS

Part 1

1. p. [iv] l. 6: Vkranie / O: Ocranie
2. p. [v] l. 12: Vkranie / O: Ocranie
3. ______ l. 17: membre infini / O: nombre infini
4. p. [vi] l. 13: Vkranie / O: Ocranie
5. ______ l. 14: ferez / O: fairez
6. p. [vii] ll. 1–2: *AVERTISSEMENT aux Lecteurs.* / O: *AVX LECTEVRS.*
7. ______ l. 4: ou / O: ny
8. ______ ll. 5–6: mais que i'ay dressées suiuant les exactes mesures, que i'ay prises en / O: mais par les exactes mesures, que i'ay prises moy-mesme en
9. ______ ll. 17–18: & des villes & forteresses duquel i'ay dressé les allignements / O: & dont mesme i'ay dressé les desseins & allignemens des villes & forteresses
10. Following the notice "AVX LECTEVRS," O contains the following "ADVERTISSEMENT":

> D'Autant qu'en tout cette Carte il n'y a que deux degrez de latitude, ie n'ay point fait de difficulté de la dresser sur des Meridiens paralelles, parce que l'erreur qui s'en peut colliger est comme imperceptible pour le peu d'espace. Il est bien vray que si l'on la continuoit vers le Midy ou vers le Septentrion, qu'il faudroit pour lors mener les Meridiens en rayons, comme ils se voyent aux Cartes ordinaires.[15]

Part 2

1. p. 1 ll. 1–4: *DESCRIPTION DE LVKRANIE & du fleuue de Boristhene, vulgairement appellé Niepper ou Dnieper, depuis KioW iusqu'en la Mer où il se iette.* / O: *DESCRIPTION DV FLEVVE Boristhene, vulgairement appellé Nieper ou Dnieper, depuis KioW iusqu'en la Mer où il se iette.*
2. p. 2 l. 10: lequel / O: laquelle {lequel}[16]
3. ______ l. 29: Bracha Cerkuils / O: Brassra Cerkuils
4. p. 3 l. 10: Castelan / O: Costelan
5. ______ ll. 27–28: six vingts milles / O: douze {six vingts} mille
6. p. 4 ll. 21–24 [marginal note]: *Les Arts que les Kosaques exercent.* / absent in O.
7. ______ l. 23: Couroyeurs / O: Conroyeurs
8. ______ l. 26: pourdre / O: poudre
9. p. 5 l. 15: grain / O: pain

[15] "Since this entire map represents only two degrees of latitude, I have not hesitated to prepare it using parallel meridians, because the error produced by this technique is virtually imperceptible for so small an area. It is quite true that if the map were continued further towards the south or the north, one would be required to set out diverging meridians, as are seen on ordinary maps." (Our translation.)

[16] Page [80] in O is entitled: "*Fautes suruenuës en l'Impression.*" Corrections indicated on this page are given in braces in our list.

10. ______ l. 17: pas riuieres / O: pas de riuieres
11. ______ l. 17: qui / O: lesquelles
12. p. 6 l. 1: Rus / O: Roux
13. ______ l. 14: sans dessein / O: sans auarice
14. ______ l. 15: grãdement / O: fort
15. ______ l. 20: mutiner / O: mutiner {se mutiner}
16. ______ ll. 23–31 [marginal note]: *Tabords sont des chariots de qui les Kosaques se couure lors qu'ils chemine en raze campagne* / absent in O.
17. p. 7 l. 2: en déroute / O: en route
18. ______ l. 9: se couure / O: se vestent
19. ______ l. 12: Pologne / O: Polongne. [Other occurrences of this common variant are not included in the present list.]
20. ______ l. 15: l'appellent / O: s'appellent
21. ______ ll. 19–21 [marginal note]: *La Noblesse Russe.* / absent in O.
22. ______ ll. 25–30 [marginal note]: *Ce qu'à quoy sont obligez les Paysans enuers leurs Maistres.* / absent in O.
23. p. 8 l. 3: la disme / O: le disme
24. ______ ll. 12–14: (qui viuent cõme en vn Paradis, & les Paysans cõme s'ils estoient en vn Purgatoire,) / absent in O.
25. ______ ll. 18–19: Zaporoüys / O: Zaporoüy
26. ______ l. 23: Ce que / O: Que
27. p. 9 l. 13: Rus/ O: Russe
28. p. 10 l. 18: disons qu'à / O: disons viron
29. p. 11 l. 1: Piecharré / O: Piecharre
30. ______ l. 4: en / O: ou
31. ______ l. 4: qui / O: & qui
32. ______ l. 15: son temps / O: que ce temps
33. ______ l. 17: se mit / O: & se mit
34. ______ ll. 17–18: dans la terre / O: dans terre
35. ______ l. 31; vne fois mõ / O: vn iour mon
36. p. 12 l. 16: beaux / O: belles
37. ______ l. 19: est / O: n'est
38. ______ l. 24: Piecharré / O: Piecharre
39. ______ l. 30: Piecharré / O: Piecharre
40. p. 13 ll. 11–12: Pereaslaw / O: Peresclaw {Pareaslaw}
41. ______ l. 17: feux, les / O: feux & les
42. ______ l. 19: Kaniow / O: Kagnon {Kaniow}
43. ______ l. 31: lesdits / O: les
44. p. 14 l. 4: Woronowka / O: Woronnowké {Woronowka}
45. ______ l. 8: Boristhene / O: Borysthene. [Other occurrences of this common variant are not included in the present list.]
46. p. 15 l. 6: espais / O: espaisses
47. ______ ll. 15–16: comme ces cerisiers ont le fruict / O: comme ses cerisiers dont nous auons parlé, & dont le fruict
48. ______ l. 25: noix d'eau qui ont la forme de / O: noix d'eau de figure de
49. ______ l. 27: Romanow / O: Romanovv
50. p. 16 l. 17: qui / O: qu'il
51. ______ l. 23: est cause / O: est bien cause
52. p. 17 l. 12: sinuositez / O: sinositez {sinuositez}

53. ______ l. 14: i'y ay / O: i'ay
54. ______ l. 18: Kniazow / O: Kaikmazow {Kniazow}
55. ______ l. 20: Kozacky / O: Kosaky {Kozacky}
56. ______ ll. 27–30 [marginal note]: *Ce Colonel Marion estoit François.* / absent in O.
57. p. 18 l. 10: rencontrasmes / O: rencontrismes
58. ______ ll. 22–23: tué, & le Lieutenant / O: tué: le Lieutenant
59. ______ l. 24: Estrangers / O: Estrangers, &c.
60. p. 19 l. 5: desseigner / O: desseigne
61. ______ l. 14: à faire la guerre / O: à faire la guerre {au fait de la guerre}
62. ______ l. 15: i'ay veu & visité / O: i'ay eu l'honneur de visiter
63. ______ ll. 17–18: se trouuant / O: ce trouuent
64. ______ ll. 26–27: pierres estenduës / O: pierre estenduë
65. p. 20 l. 24: Tauala / O: Tauala {Tawola}
66. ______ l. 26: Tawolzany / O: Taswolzany
67. p. 21 ll. 19–20: la riuiere y est entiere / O: la riuiere est entiere
68. ______ ll. 26: en ce lieu, le canal / O: en ce lieu, que le canal
69. ______ l. 30: Chortizca / O: Chorticza
70. p. 23 l. 3: cette bataille, le 26. de May / O: cette bataille 26. de May
71. ______ l. 27: nul / O: mil {nul}
72. p. 24 l. 5: puis vn chacun cache son petit fait sous l'eau / O: puis chacun cache son petit fait le sien sous l'eau
73. ______ ll. 8–13 [marginal note]: *Cholna c'est vn canot ou basteau dont il vont à la mer.* / absent in O.
74. ______ l. 20: lõgue qui a plus / O: longue au plus
75. ______ l. 23: cette / O: icelle {cette}
76. ______ l. 26: la garde qui est ancienne ruine / O: la garde ancienne ruine
77. ______ ll. 27–28: le destroit de de Tawau / O: le destroit de Tawan
78. p. 25 l. 7: Tawan / O: Tauan
79. p. 26 l. 15: soustient / O: soustiennes {soustient}
80. ______ l. 25: Semenwiruk / O: Semenuw Ruk
81. ______ l. 26: Semenwiruk / O: Semenuiruk
82. p. 27 l. 20: s'appelle / O: l'appelle
83. ______ l. 31: pieces / O: pieux {pieces}
84. p. 28 l. 27: Killa / O: Kilia
85. ______ l. 27: Turquesque / O: Turquesse
86. p. 29 l. 7: & / O: pour
87. ______ l. 11: ne / O: me
88. ______ l. 20: brousailles / O: brosailles
89. ______ l. 26: Turquesque, qui n'est point / O: Turquesse, mais point
90. p. 30 ll. 19–20: riuieres de Seretk & du Prut, A. / O: riuieres du Prut & Seretk.
91. ______ ll. 23–25: sur la Mer, que les Tours de la Mer noire qui sont sur l'emboucheure du canal à trois lieuës de Constantinople. / O: la Mer.
92. p. 31 l. 21: fossoyée / O: fosseyée
93. ______ l. 22: Tartaria Perecopensis / O: Tartaria Perecopeus {Perecopensis}
94. p. 32 l. 4: ny quel est le fond, si c'est sable, vase ou roche / O: ny de quel est le fond, si sable vase ou roche
95. ______ l. 10: il est à l'abri / O: il est abrié
96. ______ ll. 20–21: Grecques, 32. / O: Grecques & 32.

97. ______ ll. 25–28: Sinope, qu'aux autres villes, en fin dans tous les lieux tant de la mer Noire qu'en tout l'Achipelague & mer du Leuant, & dans toute la mer Noire. / O: Sinope, qu'aux autres villes, & dans toute la mer noire.
98. ______ ll. 29–30: Cham, & à / O: Cham, à
99. p. 34 ll. 4–6: la riuiere de Donnais à l'Orient de Taman est le pays de Circasaises qui sont Tartares Chrestiens & tenus pour les plus fideles. / O: la riuiere de Donnais.
100. ______ ll. 15–17: Les Tartares restent plusieurs iours apres estre nez sans pouuoir ouurir les yeux comme sont les chiens & autres animaux en general, ils ne sont pas de haute stature, / O: Les Tartares en general ne sont pas de haute statuë {stature},
101. p. 35 ll. 3–4: c'est à dire, maison / O: c'est à dire, vne maison
102. ______ l. 8: à tirer droit à leurs enfans, & apres / O: à tirer droit, & apres
103. p. 37 l. 4: Scythie / O: Scythic
104. ______ l. 6: le grand Nahaisky / O: le grand Nahaiskey
105. ______ ll. 12–13: Budzaik, voicy comme / O: Budzaik, {voicy} comme
106. p. 38 l. 4: vn quadran de Nurambert / O: vn cardran de Norambert
107. ______ l. 25: iusqu'en terre / O: iusqu'en à terre
108. ______ l. 28: point de pain / O: point le pain
109. p. 39 l. 3: se resoudent / O: se resoudre
110. ______ l. 11: feroit celuy / O: feroit de celuy
111. ______ l. 17: lequel ils couppent / O: lequel couppent
112. ______ l. 21: peuuent / O: espeurent
113. ______ l. 27: le resellent / O: se resellent
114. p. 41 l. 1: breha, voicy / O: breha, & voicy
115. ______ l. 7: son / O: leur
116. ______ l. 20: amener / O: amene
117. p. 42 l. 1: adressent / O: dressent
118. ______ l. 4: 46. & 47. / O: 47. & 46.
119. ______ l. 14: ligneul / O: ligneur
120. ______ l. 18: pas de / O: pas que de
121. p. 43 l. 11: vne queuë de plus / O: vne queuë plus
122. ______ l. 30: qu'ils disposent / O: qu'ils l'a disposent
123. p. 44. ll 24–25: pour les cochons, ils les assemble le soir / O: pour les cochons, pour l'aduersion qu'ils ont contr'eux les assembler le soir
124. p. 45 l. 4: premiers / O: premieres
125. ______ l. 6: premiers / O: premieres
126. ______ l. 8: premiers / O: premiers {premieres}
127. ______ l. 10: fait / O: soit
128. ______ ll. 29–30: se remettent / O: se remettrent
129. p. 46 l. 7: Mahumetans / O: Mahumettans
130. p. 47 [first page so numbered] ll. 2–3: de troupes / O: des trouppes
131. ______ l. 12: c'est de peur que s'ils / O: c'est que s'ils
132. p. 48 l. 2: n'escoutent ni / O: n'escoute ne
133. p. 47 [second page so numbered] l. 1: Nietre / O: Nietre {Nieper}
134. ______ l. 10: de dix à douze / O: de 10. ou 12
135. ______ l. 26: Ie / O: moy qui vous parle
136. ______ ll. 26–27: en campagne au nõbre de bien cinq cens / O: en campagne bien de quatre à cinq cens

137. p. 50 [first page so numbered] l. 4: leur / O: la
138. ______ l. 6: que l'on n'aye / O: que l'on aye
139. ______ l. 7: d'eux, vous serez / O: d'eux, serez
140. ______ l. 10: vn estrac ou piste de sorte qu'on / O: vn estraict {estrac} de sorte que on
141. ______ l. 12: suiue / O: suiure
142. ______ l. 21: la riuiere / O: la riuiere {la riere}
143. ______ l. 29: ce manege au bout du doigt / O: ce manege. Là au bout du doibt
144. ______ l. 30: campagnes / O: compagnes
145. ______ l. 30 Pilottes / O: Pinotes {Pilotes}
146. p. 51 [first page so numbered] l. 1: trauers. [In O, "trauers" only appears as a catchword, the text itself reading "au champs."]
147. ______ ll. 15–16: Cosaques / O: Cosaques. [The suggested correction in O is "Tartares," but "Cosaques" is obviously correct as it stands.]
148. ______ l. 20: là ils perdent / O: là ils y perdent
149. p. 50 [second page so numbered] l. 5: que les Tartares / O: qu'iceux Tartares
150. ______ l. 9: leur / O: son
151. ______ ll. 11–12: leur: puis les Tartares / O: leur: les Tartares
152. ______ ll. 18–19: i'ay dit, les Tartares / O: i'ay dit que les Tartares
153. ______ l. 23: l'Europe. Tous / O: l'Europe. Ie diray que tous
154. ______ l. 26: Soleil, mais ie m'asseure / O: Soleil, & m'asseure
155. ______ l. 30: cõme / O: car
156. p. 51 [second page so numbered] l. 1: la plus grande riuiere de ce pays / O: la plus grande de ce pays
157. p. 54 [first page so numbered] l. 1: plus d'eau / O: plus de l'eau
158. ______ l. 3: qu'il / O: qui
159. ______ ll. 13–14: eux, ils donnent / O: eux, donnent
160. p. 55 l. 4: saluer / O: salution
161. ______ l. 10: Ruds / O: Ruda {Rada}
162. ______ l. 12: qu'ils / O: qui
163. ______ l. 24: Ruds / O: Ruda
164. p. 54 [second page so numbered] l. 3: qu'ils / O: qui
165. ______ ll. 17–18: besoin de retourner / O: besoin retourner
166. p. 57 l. 3: voyages ç'a / O: voyages a
167. p. 58 l. 31–p. 59 l. 1: ou vne Galere / O: ou Galere
168. p. 59 l. 6: apres / O: pres
169. ______ l. 13: qu'ils / O: qui
170. ______ l. 28: 1/4 / O: 3/4
171. p. 60 l. 26: roulet / O: toulet
172. p. 61 ll. 25–26: qui est le salut ordinaire qu'on fait / O: qui est la situation ordinaire qu'on dit
173. p. 63 ll. 12–17 [marginal note]: *Comme vn paysant peut espouser vne Damoiselle.* / absent in O.
174. p. 64 l. 18: d'vn / O: d'vne
175. p. 65 l. 9: pouruiuis: Puis que / O: poursuiuis: Auparauant que de quitter ce discours, ie remarqueray encor que pour vne autre liberté & priuilege de la Noblesse Polonnoise, que si vn gentilhomme pretendu criminel, n'est arresté dans lesdits vingt quatre heures, il ne le peut plus estre, que son procez ne soit fait & parfait, il faut qu'il s'absente, & ses biens sont saisis & confisquez, &

le bany peut estre tué par le moindre qui le rencontre, & est permis à vn chacun de luy courre sus sans que celuy qui le tuë en soit aucunement inquieté, il n'est non plus permis à aucun de les loger, ny parler, ny boire auec eux, sans estre coupable de pareil crime; voila la liberté de la Noblesse Polonnoise & aussi la rigueur des Ordonnances du pays, cela soit dit en passant dans l'occasion qui s'en est presentée. Puis que[17]

176. ______ ll. 13–15 [marginal note]: *Comme se font les nopces.* / absent in O.
177. p. 66 l. 3: prent / O: prennent
178. ______ l. 31: sautant / O: chantans
179. p. 67 l. 2: beureuse / O: heureuse
180. ______ ll. 3–4: aussitost tout l'assẽblée saute / O: aussitost toute la nopce saute
181. ______ ll. 19: ne l'ont point veuë / O: ne sont point veuës
182. ______ l. 25: tous ceux de la nopce suiuent / O: toute la nopce suit
183. p. 68 ll. 3–18 [an important addition to the 1660 edition]: confus & diffamez; & dés lors [. . .] Quand au marié il est à son choix / O: confus & diffamez, & dés lors les nopces finissent, chacun s'en retrourne honteux chez soy particulierement les parens de la mariée: pour luy il est à son choix
184. ______ l. 21: I'adiousteray encor sur ceste matiere ce mot / O: I'adiousteray auparauant que de quitter ceste matiere encor ce mot
185. p. 68 l. 30–p. 72 l. 9: Auant que finir ce discours [. . .] recompenser de sa perte. [Approximately three and one-half pages of entirely new material are inserted in the 1660 edition at this point. We have entitled this portion of the 1660 text "Easter celebrations."]
186. p. 72 l. 10: sommes sur / O: sommes reuenus sur
187. ______ ll. 13–15 [marginal note]: *Medecine des Cosaques.* / absent in O.
188. ______ l. 25: loin des / O: loin de
189. p. 73 ll. 5–6: semble / O: sembloit
190. ______ l. 10: de dire / O: d'en dire
191. ______ l. 16: sueur de la teste / O: sueur de teste
192. p. 74 l. 12: ce / O: le
193. ______ l. 13 [At this point O has a marginal note "*Des mouches.*" that is absent in the 1660 edition.]
194. p. 76 l. 7: posé / O: fourché
195. ______ l. 11 [At this point O has a marginal note "*Des Sauterelles.*" that is absent in the 1660 edition.]
196. ______ ll. 26–27: s'ensuit cette grande & cherté de viure, & si / O: s'ensuit grande charté s'il n'y a famine, & si

[17] "Before ending my relation, I shall mention another freedom and privilege of the Polish nobility. If a noble [who is] assumed to be a criminal is not arrested within the said twenty-four hours, he can no longer be detained unless his trial has been begun and completed. [If he is convicted,] he must flee, and his property is seized and confiscated. The banished man may be killed by [even] the least important person who meets him; it is permitted for anyone to hunt him down, and the man who kills him need feel no anxiety. Nor is anyone permitted to take him in, speak with him, or drink with him without being [declared] guilty of the same crime. Such is the liberty of the Polish nobles, and also the rigor of the laws in that country. All this is said here, in passing, on the occasion that has presented itself." (Our translation. This portion of the 1651 text, omitted in the 1660 edition, is taken up and developed in much more detail on pp. 96–97 of the later version, in the part of the book dealing with the Polish nobility.)

197. p. 77 ll. 1–2: qu'elles commencent à s'esclorre ils perissent & / O: que cette vermine commence à se clorre elle perit &
198. ______ l. 10: & / O: où
199. ______ l. 14: & dans la plus grande clarté du Soleil / O: & dans le plus beau iour de Soleil
200. p. 78 l. 4: ils y estoient nez en ce Printẽps là / O: ils estoient nez ce Printemps là
201. p. 79 l. 7: offençoit / O: offence
202. ______ ll. 16–17: rencontrent mois / O: rencontrent au mois
203. p. 80 ll. 15–16: Caldeennes, *Boze Gnion, en François fleau de Dieu* / O: Caldeennes, *pour faire perir le bled*
204. ______ ll. 16–17: rapporte à ceux qui me l'ont dit & qui sçauent / O: rapporte à ceux qui sçauent
205. ______ ll. 22–28 [marginal note] *Bobaques, sont petits animaux qui sont faits comme lapins de Barbarie.* / O: *Bobaques.*
206. p. 80 l. 31–p. 81 l. 1: pro-[ui]sions / O: prouisions [The missing syllable in the 1660 edition occurs only in the catchword at the bottom of page 80.]
207. p. 81 l. 23: ne coustent pas plus au marché / O: ne coustent au marché pas plus
208. p. 82 ll. 10–11: plein de petits trous / O: plein de trous
209. ______ l. 17: tesnier / O: tasnier.
210. ______ ll. 24–25: cherchées on trouuoit vn trou que ie faisois fouyr / O: cherchées si on rencontroit le trou, ie faisois fouyr
211. p. 83 ll. 12–13 [marginal note] *Cheuaux legers.* / absent in O.
212. ______ l. 15: pour Tartares / O: pour des Tartares
213. ______ l. 15: trauailler / O: trauail
214. ______ l. 26: sont renfermez / O: sont tout renfermez
215. p. 84 l. 2: vne / O: vn
216. ______ l. 14: dix poulces / O: six poulces
217. ______ ll. 29–30: 300. de ses petits pains / O: 300. petits pains
218. p. 85 l. 3–4: cristal, ce lieu ce nomme *Wieliczka*, il y a aussi / O: cristal, il y a aussi
219. ______ ll. 6–7: cy dessus. / O: cy dessus: Il y a en fin en tous ces pays donc i'ay parlé, vne infinité d'autre chose tres remarquables, soit pour le regard des mœurs de ces peuples, que pour ces raretez, & du terroir & des animaux qu'il porte, qui meriteroient des tomes tous entiers: mais le Lecteur me permettra de remettre le reste au premier loisir que i'auray de l'en entretenir. *FIN.*[18]

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[18] The text of O ends as follows: "There are, finally, in all these areas of which I have spoken, an infinite number of other very remarkable things, as regards both the customs of the people, and these rarities, as well as the land and the animals it bears, [the descriptions of] which would merit whole volumes. However, the reader will permit me to set aside the rest until the first occasion I have leisure to tell him of them. The End." (Our translation.)

The Social Structure of the Ukraine in 1917

BOHDAN KRAWCHENKO

INTRODUCTION

Study of the social structure of the Ukraine at the turn of this century fosters a better understanding of the challenges facing the leadership of the national movement. In the past, data drawn from the 1897 or 1926 general population censuses have furnished the basic information for such analysis;[1] of course, this provided only an approximation of the situation in 1917. Recent Soviet scholarship, however, has furnished new data which gives us a much sharper snap-shot of society in the Ukraine in the fateful year of 1917. This article examines and discusses those data and their implications for the course of the Ukrainian revolution.

POPULATION

The agricultural and urban censuses of 1916–1917, as well as the (incomplete) general population census of 1917, first analyzed in depth by L. S. Haponenko and V. M. Kabuzan, provide the most detailed and reliable estimate of the Ukraine's population in 1917.[2] Hitherto, one had to make do with estimates from the statistical yearbooks published by the Central Statistical Committee of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The yearbooks took the 1897 general census results as a basis and and revised population figures annually in the light of the natural movement of the population. These data are generally considered highly unreliable, especially as concerns the regional distribution of the population.[3] In the light of new scholarship, it appears that the Ukraine (defined as consisting of nine *guberniia*s or provinces) had 31,214,00 inhabitants.[4] This represented a 33 percent increase

[1] See Bohdan Krawchenko, *Social Change and National Consciousness in Twentieth-Century Ukraine* (London and New York, 1985), chapters 1 and 2.

[2] L. S. Haponenko (Gaponenko) and V. M. Kabuzan, "Materialy sel'skokhoziaistvennykh perepisei 1916–1917 gg. kak istochnik opredeleniia chislennosti naseleniia Rossii nakanune Oktiabr'skoi revoliutsii," *Istoriia SSSR*, 1961, no. 6, pp. 97–115.

[3] A. G. Rashin, *Naselenie Rossii za 100 let (1811–1913 gg.)* (Moscow, 1956), p. 21.

[4] Haponenko and Kabuzan, "Materialy," pp. 102–103, table 1. All figures are rounded off to the nearest 1,000.

over the 1897 population figure of 23,430,000, as compared with a 34 percent increase for the Russian Empire as a whole.[5]

The Ukraine's population increase was quite remarkable given the fact that at the turn of the century a massive migration of peasants to regions beyond the Urals had occurred. Between 1907–1913, for instance, this exodus resulted in a net loss to the Ukraine's population of almost one million people.[6] The First World War also had devastating results, since an estimated 1.2 million inhabitants of the Ukraine died.[7] The Ukraine managed to register sizeable population growth between 1897 and 1917 largely due to an uncommonly high rate of natural population increase—18.2 per thousand between 1906–1910, one of the highest natural growth rates in the world.[8] Large-scale in-migration of Russians into the Ukraine also contributed towards this development.

In analyzing the regional dimension of population change between 1897 and 1917, it becomes evident that the greatest gains in the number of inhabitants was registered by the southern, steppe provinces (see table 1). The more developed steppe—with its industries, ports, and relatively prosperous agriculture—had long acted as a magnet for individuals searching to improve their lot. However, the growth of the steppe's population was also a reflection of specific developments during the First World War. During the war years, especially 1917, a large influx of people entered the cities of the urbanized south. In the case of Katerynoslav province, it is estimated that in 1917 alone, some 800,000 people, from all parts of the empire, flocked to its cities.[9] It should also be noted that because the steppe was a major industrial center, a much lower proportion of its male population had been mobilized for service in the army, as compared to other regions of the Ukraine. Thus in 1917, whereas 52 percent of all able-bodied males (14 to 60 years of age) in Kiev province had been pressed into military service, the figure for Katerynoslav province was only 32 percent.[10] The Ukraine's steppe was least affected by the national movement developing in the central Ukrainian territories. The integration of this region into the Ukraine was an enormous problem for the Central Rada during the revolution. This

[5] *Pervaia vseobshchaia perepis' naseleniia Rossiiskoi imperii 1897 goda*, 89 vols. (hereafter *Perepis' 1897*) (St. Petersburg, 1897–1905), table 21 in vols. 8, 13, 16, 32, 33, 41, 46, 47, 48; S. I. Bruk and V. M. Kabuzan, "Dinamika i ètnicheskii sostav naseleniia Rossii v èpokhu imperializma (konets XXI v.–1917 g.)," *Istoriia SSSR*, 1980, no. 3, p. 89, table 5.

[6] A. Khomenko, *Naselennia Ukrainy 1897–1927 rr.* (Kharkiv, 1927), p. 15.

[7] S. V. Minaiev, *Naslidky vseliudnoho perepysu 1926 r. na Ukraini* (Kharkiv, 1928), p. 13.

[8] Khomenko, *Naselennia*, p. 13.

[9] Haponenko and Kabuzan, "Materialy," pp. 104–105.

[10] Stanislas Kohn and Alexander F. Meyendorff, *The Cost of the War to Russia* (New Haven, 1932), p. 234.

was also a region with a very large pool of able-bodied males, a highly mobilized force whom the Bolshevik, Menshevik, and White movements could draw upon.

Nationality data for 1917 calculated by S. I. Bruk and Kabuzan indicate that little had changed in terms of the Ukrainians' share of the population of the nine provinces (see table 2). In 1917, as in 1897, Ukrainians predominated in the Left-Bank and Right-Bank provinces, but formed a slim majority of the population of the steppe. Before the revolution the Ukrainian peasantry had not participated in large numbers in the industrial development of the Donbas' and the south. Moreover, it was here that the assimilation of Ukrainians into a Russian national identity occurred most frequently and figured as an important factor in the diminishing size of the Ukrainian population in this strategic region.[11]

THE URBAN SETTING

The growth of urban centers is one hallmark of modern social and economic development. In this respect the Ukraine as a whole fared somewhat better than most other regions of the tsarist empire. In 1897, the Ukraine's three million inhabitants represented 13.2 percent of its total population. This was marginally higher than the average rate of ubanization for European Russia, which was 12.9 percent. By 1917 the Ukraine's relative standing in this important measure had improved: between 1897 and 1917 the urban population had doubled, and the country and its rate of urbanization stood at 20 percent (see tables 3 and 4), as compared with 18 percent for European Russia. If towns posed such a major problem for the Ukraine's national development, this was because the country's urban growth produced both marked regional imbalances and serious distortions in their ethnic composition.

Close to half of the Ukraine's urban population was centered in the steppe provinces (45 percent in 1987, and 46 percent in 1917), where the rate of urbanization was twice that of the Right- and Left-Bank regions. In 1897 Ukrainians accounted for 30 percent of the Ukraine's urban population, with Russians 34, Jews 27, and other nationalities 9 percent.[12] We have no nationality data for 1917, but information for 1920 shows that the Ukrainian representation in the urban centers had not improved. According

[11] S. I. Bruk and V. M. Kabuzan, "Chislennost' i rasselenie ukrainskogo ètnosa v XVIII–nachale XX v.," *Sovetskaia ètnografiia*, 1981, no. 5, p. 22; idem, "Dinamika chislennosti i rasseleniia russkogo ètnosa (1678–1917 gg.)," *Sovetskaia ètnografiia*, 1982, no. 4, pp. 21–22.

[12] Krawchenko, *Social Change*, p. 10, table 1.3.

to the 1920 census, Ukrainians formed 32 percent of their country's urban population, with Russians 33, Jews 29, and others 6 percent.[13]

The social and class structure of the urban population, for which we do have data for the year 1917, provides additional evidence of the marginalization of Ukrainians in the urban environment. Towns and cities, to a very significant extent, were middle-class preserves. In 1917 the intelligentsia and white-collar staff formed 26 percent of the total urban population, and the petty-bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie another 29 percent. Thus the so-called middle layers represented some 55 percent of the urban population, followed by the proletariat, at 23 percent, and the semi-proletariat, at 21 percent.[14] Ukrainians were uncommonly poorly represented in the first two groups, and formed a majority only of the latter.[15]

In the course of the revolution, the fate of the Ukrainian national movement was decided in the urban centers. The cities and towns concentrated society's critical functions, as well as its most politically creative and active population. During the revolution, the national movement struggled to achieve mastery over society, not with the aid of the city, but in the face of its indifference or active opposition. Results of the 1917 elections to the Constituent Assembly provide ample evidence of this fact. Ukrainian parties "were outvoted in every city by at least one group which was apathetic or antipathetic towards the Ukrainian cause."[16] Elections to the city *dumy* produced an even poorer showing for Ukrainian parties.[17]

The cities of the Ukraine, "even our Kiev," lamented Isaak Mazepa, "gave us no help whatsoever during the revolution."[18] Census data for 1917 for the city of Kiev illustrate the seriousness of the problem of Ukrainian urban implantation. As the seat of the Central Rada and the capital of the Ukrainian People's Republic, Kiev was at the center of efforts by the Ukrainian national movement to establish control over its society. Yet the human resources available to sustain this drive for self-assertion were woefully inadequate. In 1917 only 16 percent of Kiev's population could be considered Ukrainian (see table 5). This figure included those who gave either "Ukrainian" or "Little Russian" as their nationality. "Little

13 *Ukraina: Statystychnyi spravochnyk* (Kharkiv, 1925), p. 13, table 6.

14 I. K. Rybalka and F. H. Turchenko, "Sotsial'no-klasova struktura naselennia Ukrainy naperedodni Zhovtnevoi revoliutsii," *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, 1981, no. 11, p. 29, table 4.

15 Krawchenko, *Social Change*, p. 44, table 1.5.

16 Steven L. Guthier, "The Popular Base of Ukrainian Nationalism in 1917," *Slavic Review* 38, no. 1 (March 1979): 43.

17 *Robitnycha hazeta* (Kiev), 21 July and 21 November 1917.

18 I. Mazepa, *Ukraina v ohni i buri revoliutsii, 1917–1921*, 3 vols. (n.p, 1951), 2: 31.

Russians'' accounted for 29 percent of all those considered to be Ukrainian.[19]

During the revolutionary period of 1917–1919, the number of Ukrainians in Kiev increased by 78 percent. This was the result of an in-migration of Ukrainians from the countryside, as well as of the fact that ''during the Hetmanate and Petliura periods'' many who had considered themselves Russians in previous censuses declared themselves Ukrainians in 1919.[20] Nonetheless, even in 1919, Ukrainians did not account for more than a quarter of the city's population. By 1920, under the impact of Denikin's occupation and economic ruin, Kiev's population plummetted, especially its Ukrainian contingent, which that year stood at a mere 14 percent of the total.

Examining the occupational structure of Kiev's major nationalities, M. Borovs'kyi noted that ''Ukrainians were the most democratic group.''[21] Indeed, almost two-thirds of Ukrainians inhabiting Kiev were classified as either workers, servants, or unemployed (see table 6). Writers of the 1920s derived some ideological solace from the fact that the social structure of Ukrainians contained such a preponderance of common people. However, this meant that Ukrainians were poorly represented in the occupations that commonly serve as the activist core of a national movement and provide the material resources necessary for such a movement to flourish. In 1917, only 15 percent of those employed in liberal professions in Kiev gave either Ukrainian or Little Russian as their nationality, and only 12 percent of those involved in trade, commerce, or banking (see table 7). What further weakened the national movement's chances in Kiev was that socially mobile Ukrainians had a weaker sense of national identity than the more plebeian elements of their nation. Thus whereas 22 percent of Ukrainian workers in 1917 called themselves ''Little Russians,'' in the case of Ukrainians in the liberal professions the figure was 27 percent, and for those employed in religious institutions, courts, and the police, 30 percent.[22]

19 I. S. Bisk, *K voprosu o sotsial'nom sostave naseleniia g. Kieva (po dannym perepisi 1917 g.)* (Kiev, 1920), p. 3.

20 Mykola Borovs'kyi, ''Natsional'no-sotsial'ni perehrupovannia liudnosty mista Kyiva v porevoliutsiinykh chasakh (1917–1923),'' in *Kyiv ta ioho okolytsia v istorii i pam''iatkakh*, ed. Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi (Kiev, 1926), p. 436.

21 Borovs'kyi, ''Natsional'no-sotsial'ni perehrupovannia,'' p. 447.

22 Bisk, *K voprosu*, p. 12.

Table 1
Changes in the Population of the Ukraine, 1897–1914

Region	*1897*	*1917**	*% change 1897–1917*
Right Bank	9,567,000	11,731,000	16.8
Left Bank	7,568,000	9,776,000	29.2
Steppe	6,295,000	9,707,000	54.2
Ukraine	23,430,000	31,214,000	33.2

* permanent (*postoiannoe*) inhabitants

Source: *Perepis' 1897*, table 21 in vols, 8, 13, 16, 32, 33, 41, 46, 47, 48; L. S. Haponenko (Gaponenko) and V. M. Kabuzan, "Materialy sel'skokhoziaistvennykh perepisei 1916–1917 gg. kak istochnik opredeleniia chislennosti naseleniia Rossii nakanune Oktiabr'skoi revoliutsii," *Istoriia SSSR*, 1961, no. 6, pp. 102–103, table 1.

Table 2
Ukrainians in the Population of the Ukraine by Province, 1897–1917 (in percent)

Province	*1897*	*1917*
Kiev	79.2	76.5
Volyn'	70.1	69.7
Podillia	80.9	80.1
Chernihiv	66.4	67.4
Poltava	93.0	94.1
Kharkiv	80.6	85.7
Katerynoslav	68.9	65.8
Kherson	53.5	52.7
Tavria	42.2	47.1

Source: S. I. Bruk and V. M. Kabuzan, "Chislennost' i rasselenie ukrainskogo ètnosa v XVIII–nachale XX v.," *Sovetskaia ètnografiia*, 1981, no. 5, p. 24, table 4.

Table 3
Changes in the Urban Population of the Ukraine by Region, 1897–1917

Region	*1897*	*1917*	*% change 1897–1917*
Right Bank	915,000	1,856,000	102.8
Left Bank	851,000	1,517,000	78.2
Steppe	1,391,000	2,856,000	105.3
Ukraine	3,085,000	6,229,000	101.9

Source: L. S. Haponenko (Gaponenko) and V. M. Kabuzan, "Materialy sel'sko-khoziaistvennykh perepisei 1916–1917 gg. kak istochnik opredeleniia chislennosti naseleniia Rossii nakanune Oktiabr'skoi revoliutsii," *Istoriia SSSR*, 1961, no. 6, pp. 108–109, table 2.

Table 4
Changes in the Rate of Urbanization of the Ukraine by Region, 1987–1917 (in percent)

Region	*1897*	*1917*
Right Bank	9.6	15.8
Left Bank	11.2	15.5
Steppe	21.0	29.4
Ukraine	13.2	20.0

Source: Tabulated from tables 1 and 3.

Table 5

*Changes in the National Composition of the City of Kiev, 1897–1920**

Year	*Total Population*	*Ukrainians*	*in %*	*Russians*	*in %*	*Jews*	*in %*	*Others*	*in %*
1897	245,000	55,000	22.4	135,000	55.1	32,000	13.1	23,000	9.4
1917	468,000	77,000	16.4	231,000	49.4	87,000	18.6	73,000	15.4
1919	544,000	137,000	25.2	232,000	42.7	115,000	28.1	60,000	11.0
1920	366,000	52,000	14.2	172,000	47.0	117,000	32.0	25,000	6.8

* Nationality here is defined by mother-tongue.

Source: Mykola Borovs'kyi, ''Natsional'no-sotsial'ni perehrupovannia liudnosty mista Kyiva v porevoliutsiinykh chasakh (1917–1923),'' in *Kyiv ta ioho okolytsia v istorii i pam''iatkakh*, ed. Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi (Kiev, 1926), p. 434, table 1.

Table 6

*Occupational Structure of Kiev's Major Nationalities, 1917**

	Ukrainians	*Russians*	*Jews*	*Poles*
Workers	42.3	35.6	20.2	33.9
White-collar staff	23.3	27.0	27.5	28.8
Servants	15.1	14.1	2.1	11.4
Businessmen**	10.0	10.3	29.7	8.0
Liberal professions	5.0	8.1	12.6	9.9
Unemployed	3.6	3.7	7.0	5.0
Rentiers	0.7	1.2	0.9	3.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*Economically active population only.
**Shopkeepers, owners of enterprises.

Source: Mykola Borovs'kyi, ''Natsional'no-sotsial'ni perehrupovannia liudnosty mista Kyiva v porevoliutsiinykh chasakh (1917–1923),'' in *Kyiv ta ioho okolytsia v istorii i pam''iatkakh*, ed. Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi (Kiev, 1926), p. 448, table 9.

Table 7
*Share of Major Nationalities by Selected Occupational Categories in Kiev's Population, 1917**

Occupation	*Total number*	*Ukrainians*	*in percent* Russians	*Jews*	*Poles*
industry	57,220	15.7	43.2	20.3	9.4
transport	33,231	23.5	52.1	3.1	8.2
trade, commerce, banking	33,740	12.4	39.5	34.3	8.1
religious institutions, courts, police	30,838	18.9	53.5	9.0	9.4
(of whom employed as workers:)	4,547	25.3	44.1	1.8	9.5
liberal professions	21,092	14.8	47.4	18.0	10.9
(of whom employed as workers:)	4,981	30.6	49.5	8.8	7.7
students over 14 years of age**	3,864	11.1	49.1	24.1	10.8
building maintenance	3,706	26.3	59.0	0.5	8.5
household servants	27,322	23.3	59.9	2.9	9.6
unskilled labor (without lieu of employment indicated)	5,273	20.2	65.3	1.2	5.1
rentiers	2,747	10.5	51.2	11.4	23.7
unemployed	9,759	15.2	43.2	26.4	11.2

*Economically active population only.
**Not including those economically active or living with parents.

Source: Tabulated from I. S. Bisk, *K voprosu o sotsial'nom sostave naseleniia g. Kieva (po dannym perepisi 1917 g.)* (Kiev, 1920), p. 12, table 3.

Table 8

Class Structure of the Rural Population of the Ukraine in 1917

	Number of households		*Average size of household*	*Population Total*	
Group	*total number*	*as % of total*		*total number*	*as % of total*
Peasants	4,222,500	99.2	5.74	24,237,300	97.0
of whom:					
poor	2,431,100	57.1	4.9	11,912,400	49.2
middle	1,273,000	29.9	6.34	8,074,000	33.3
well-to-do	518,400	12.2	8.2	4,250,900	17.5
Landowners	35,200	0.8	7.8	274,900	1.1
White-collar staff	—	—	73,600	0.3	
Workers or servants	—	—	394,200	1.6	
TOTAL	4,257,700	100.0	24,980,000	100.0	

Source: I. K. Rybalka and F. H. Turchenko, "Sotsial'no-klasova struktura naselennia Ukrainy naperedodni Zhovtnevoi revoliutsii," *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, 1981, no. 11, p. 24, table 1.

OCCUPATIONAL AND CLASS STRUCTURE

In 1917 the Ukraine remained an overwhelmingly rural society: 80 percent of the country's inhabitants lived in the villages, and 68 percent derived their livelihood from agriculture.[23] (In 1897 the figures were 87 and 74 percent, respectively.)[24] At first glance the countryside presented an image of an overwhelmingly homogeneous society. Of some 25 million rural inhabitants, 97 percent were peasants, who owned 65 percent of the land, whereas

[23] Haponenko and Kabuzan, "Materialy," pp. 108–109; Rybalka and Turchenko, "Sotsial'no-klasova struktura," p. 29, table 4.

[24] *Perepis' 1897*, tables 21 and 22 in vols. 3, 8, 16, 32, 33, 41, 46, 47, 48.

the landowners, forming 1.1 percent of the rural population, controlled 30 percent of the land.[25]

Since the 1861 reforms, however, the peasantry had become increasingly differentiated, a normal development in an industrializing society. Soviet literature, from which we draw our data, customarily divides the peasantry into three groups: poor, middle, and well-to-do or kulak. This categorization is based on size of landholding, not income. Thus the poor peasantry is said to have consisted of those with up to 3 *desiatyn*s, 4 in the case of the steppe provinces; the middle as holding 3 to 6 *desiatyn*s in Right-Bank provinces and Polissia, 4 to 12 in the steppe provinces, and 3 to 10 elsewhere; the well-to-do or kulak group as holding over 6 *desiatyns* in Right-Bank provinces and Polissia, over 12 in the steppe provinces, and over 10 *desiatyns* elsewhere.[26] (One *desiatyn* equals 1.1 hectares.) Based on this criteria, in 1917 almost half the peasant population of the Ukraine could be classified as poor, one third as middle, and 17.5 percent as well-to-do (see table 8).

The average peasant farm in the Ukraine in 1917 was approximately 7.7 hectares. The landholding of the Ukrainian peasant was actually larger than that of his French, Belgian, or Danish counterpart.[27] But whereas the latter could earn a comfortable living on such a farm, the former could not because of a shortage of draught animals and implements, primitive agricultural techniques, and cultural backwardness. Lack of intelligent state policies promoting infrastructures in agriculture (credit facilities, grain elevators, agricultural schools, etc.) compounded the difficulties. Operating at a subsistence level (it was estimated that 5.5 hectares were needed to make ends meet),[28] under the Ukraine's climatic conditions, the peasant could expect to experience pangs of hunger every two or three years when the harvest was poor.[29]

For the poor, improvement of their lot entailed employment outside the immediate peasant household. By 1917, a very high proportion of the Ukraine's peasantry pursued this option. That year some 60 percent of households had at least one member employed either as agricultural laborers or seasonal workers in industry, or engaged as traders or artisans. In

25 *Sotsialistychna perebudova i rozvytok sil's'koho hospodarstva Ukrains'koi RSR*, 2 vols. (Kiev, 1967), 1, p. 14, table 2.

26 M. A. Rubach, *Ocherki po istorii revoliutsionnogo preobrazovaniia agrarnykh otnoshenii na Ukraine* (Kiev, 1967), p. 20.

27 M. Porsh, "Iz statystyky Ukrainy," *Ukraina*, 1907, no. 3, p. 37.

28 Iu. Ianson, *Opyt statisticheskogo issledovaniia o krest'ianskikh nadelakh i platezhakh* (St. Petersburg, 1889), p. 66.

29 *Istoriia selianstva Ukrains'koi RSR*, 2 vols. (Kiev, 1967), 1:402.

1917, this type of activity was the main source of income for 30 percent of peasant households (some 6.8 million people). Poor peasants comprised 70 percent of those seeking employment outside the peasant household, the middle peasantry accounted for 21 percent, and the well-to-do for 9 percent of the total.[30]

The absorption of poor peasants by an expanding industrial sector is a sound strategy for resolving acute agrarian problems. This was especially true in the case of the Ukraine, where, contrary to what historians such as E. H. Carr have asserted,[31] the countryside was much less differentiated than that of other regions of the Russian Empire. In the Ukraine poor peasants represented 58 percent of the total number of peasant households, the middle 30 percent, and the well-to-do 12 percent. The figures for the Russian Empire were 65, 20, and 15 percent, respectively (1917).[32] In 1917 an instant egalitarian redistribution of land in the Ukraine amongst all peasant households would have added a mere .24 hectares of land per household. But the collapse of the economy during the revolution made pursuit of alternative employment an unobtainable goal, whereas the seizure of the upper classes' land was an immediate, albeit partial solution.

The occupational and class structure of the Ukrainian countryside posed formidable challenges for the Ukrainian national movement. The countryside was a sea of petty commodity producers, some four million independent households. Because of the lack of capitalist development, the village was to a large degree atomized, characterized by a low level of socialization of production, economic interdependence, and cooperation. As a result of tsarist policies, it even lacked the kinds of infrastructure existing in other rural societies: a network of cooperatives, schools, and the like. Moreover, the relative homogeneity of the Ukrainian village meant that there were few social groups which could serve as the organizers of a rural-based national movement. Certainly this role could not be filled by the landowners, the overwhelmingly Russian economic and social antagonists of the peasants. The leadership role fell to the "third element"—the rural intelligentsia and para-professionals, that is, zemstvo clerks, teachers, medical assistants, veterinarians. But this group, in the light of 1917 data, represented a mere 0.3 percent of the rural population. The city, with its large enterprises and web of communications, had infinitely greater organizational capacities, despite its non-Ukrainian character.

30 Rybalka and Turchenko, "Sotsial'no-klasova struktura," pp. 26–27.

31 E. H. Carr, *Socialism in One Country, 1924–1926*, 2 vols. (London, 1970), 1:257–58.

32 Rybalka and Turchenko, "Sotsial'no-klasova struktura," p. 32.

In explaining the defeat of the Ukrainian national movement, many authors have drawn attention to the inadequate agrarian programs of the Central Rada and the Directory. It is true that both these governments neglected the agricultural question and hardly formulated an agrarian program.[33] But this is an inadequate explanation of the loss of peasant support by national forces. Peasants rarely read agrarian programs. Of much greater import for peasants was the establishment of a strong political center, of a forceful authority who could guarantee reform. In short, agrarian programs have an impact on peasants only when they see that there is an agency of some substance to back them up. The agrarian programs of the Rada and the Directory lacked the tools needed for implementation. With Ukrainian forces in disarray and armies invading on all sides, it is hardly surprising that the peasantry, perceiving no clear goal posited by some kind of regular centralized hierarchy of control, chose to wait out events in their villages. When threatened, these villages combined to fight their opponents by the guerilla methods of their forefathers. Having defeated their enemies, they returned to their homes. What this chaotic method of peasant struggle indicated was that Ukrainian rural society, without town and urban cadres, simply did not have the wherewithal to support any other kind of resistance. A. Adams summarized the situation very well:

> the final years of the awakening of Ukraine should be viewed as a history of a peasant jacquerie that crushed all lesser forces beneath its boots, until at last, peasants and the land were so exhausted that Bolshevism's patient workers were able to slip into power almost unchallenged.[34]

In the past, peasant revolutions in Russia did not succeed because there were no major urban classes interested in supporting the peasants' settlement of scores with feudalism. In the Russian revolution, the working class, with its own accounts to settle in the factories, provided the decisive lever. The coincidence of the two movements was responsible for the successs of that revolution. In the Ukraine, by contrast, the two revolutions, the urban and the rural, had difficulty in finding common ground. While the working class movement in the Ukraine had proved its mettle in organizing to defend its class interests, it never defined its political role in terms of the Ukraine. The proletariat avoided assuming responsibility and leadership of the Ukrainian revolution. The root of the problem lay not so much in bad

33 See Illia Vytanovych, *Agrarna polityka ukrains'kykh uriadiv rokiv revoliutsii i vyzvol'nykh zmahan' (1917–1920)* (Munich, 1968).

34 Arthur E. Adams, "The Awakening of the Ukraine," in *The Development of the USSR: An Exchange of Views*, ed. Donald W. Treadgold (Seattle, 1964), p. 235.

faith or wrong ideas as in the social weight, location, and national composition of that class.

In 1917, according to the most complete studies of the working class in the Ukraine, the proletariat numbered 3.6 million. If dependents are included, the figure is 6.5 million, or 14 percent of the total population of the Ukraine. But if we examine the structure of the working class more closely, it becomes apparent that the modern, industrial work force was a decided minority in the country. Of the 3.6 million workers (without dependents), industrial workers numbered 893,000, railwaymen were 121,000, workers in small-scale artisan enterprises accounted for 230,000, those employed in rural artisan production—444,000, workers in trade and transportation—59,000, domestic servants—365,000. The largest contingent of the working class was formed by agricultural laborers—1.2 million.[35]

A distinctive characteristic of the working class in the Ukraine was the high proportion of workers employed in a rural setting. Of the 6.5 million workers in the Ukraine (including dependents), 5.0 million (with dependents), or 77 percent of the total, were located in the countryside. In fact, some 70 percent of non-agricultural workers (those in industry, artisan production, trade and commerce, etc.) were, in 1917, also located in the villages.[36] This was a working class scattered among small enterprises, with one foot in a peasant household. As a group they were exceptionally difficult to organize and they played a small role in the 1917 revolution. For instance, in 1917, there were 500 strikes in the Ukraine, in which 285,000 workers participated. Workers in metalurgy, 70,000 in number and representing only 2 percent of the working class, accounted for 60 percent of all strikers.[37] The principal actors in the working class movement during 1917 were industrial workers in the main economic centers such as Katerynoslav, Kharkiv, Mykolaiv, Luhans'k, Iuzivka, and Mariupol'—cities far removed from the central and northern regions of the Ukraine, where both the national and agrarian movements were unfolding. As M. A. Rubach concluded, the location of the working class accounts for the "lack of

[35] M. A. Rubach, "Proletariat Ukrainy naperedodni sotsialistychnoi revoliutsii," *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, 1963, no. 5, p. 35; Rybalka and Turchenko, "Sotsial'no-klasova struktura," p. 29.

[36] Rybalka and Turchenko, "Sotsial'no-klasova struktura," p. 29.

[37] Rubach, "Proletariat Ukrainy," p. 33.

influence of the proletarian centers on the development of the socialist revolution. . . in Ukraine.''[38]

The stratification of the industrial working class also served to weaken its capacities as a coherent force. As Bolshevik historians admitted, in 1917 their party received ''far less'' support from workers in the Ukraine than they obtained in Russia.[39] In the Ukraine the better educated workers (especially in the large firms where, unlike in Russia, collective bargaining was practiced) supported the Menshevik wing of Russian Social Democracy. This was to be expected since these workers formed a veritable labor aristocracy with a corresponding ''reformist'' world view. In 1913, to give an example, industrial workers in Katerynoslav province had an annual income of 426 rubles, making them by far the best-paid workers in the Russian Empire.[40] It should also be noted that artisans, a high proportion of whom were of Jewish nationality, were also staunch Menshevik supporters.[41] The younger, unskilled workers, generally of peasant stock, who had recently arrived from Russia to work in the mines, were the group that furnished the bulk of the Bolsheviks' recruits.[42]

The national composition of the working class in the Ukraine also hampered its playing a leading role in the society. Rubach estimates that in 1917 some 40 percent of workers were Ukrainian (largely located in rural areas), Russians formed 40 percent, and Jews accounted for 10 percent, while the remaining 10 percent comprised various nationalities.[43]

These structural divisions within the working class reduced its capacities for clear, decisive political action in the course of the Ukrainian revolution. The majority of industrial workers, especially those who participated in trade unions, backed the Mensheviks. Throughout 1917 Mensheviks formed a ''loyal opposition'' to the Central Rada. They did not actively support the Rada, but neither did they particularly oppose it. Bolshevik sectors of the working class, aware of their weakness in the face of Menshevik predominance, favored accomodation with the Mensheviks. Neither seriously thought about taking power.

[38] Rubach, ''Proletariat Ukrainy,'' p. 32.

[39] M. M. Popov, *Narys istorii Komunistychnoi partii (bil'shovykiv) Ukrainy* (Kharkiv, 1929), p. 122.

[40] Iu. I. Kir'ianov, *Zhiznennyi uroven' rabochikh Rossii* (Moscow, 1979), p. 108.

[41] David Lane, *The Roots of Russian Social Democracy* (Assen, The Netherlands, 1969), pp. 50–51; Isaak Mazepa, *Bol'shevyzm i okupatsiia Ukrainy* (Lviv and Kiev, 1922), p. 122.

[42] Lane, *Roots*, pp. 50–51; V. Modestov, *Rabochee i professionalnoe dvizhenie v Donbasse do Velikoi oktiabr'skoi sotsialisticheskoi revoliutsii* (Moscow, 1957), p. 21.

[43] Rubach, ''Proletariat Ukrainy,'' p. 38.

The revolution in the Ukraine was a complex affair in which everything was tried at least once. This was because no single social group could assert hegemony: not the peasantry, not the working class, and certainly not the bourgeoisie (forming 0.8 percent of the total population in 1917) or the intelligentsia and white-collar staff (accounting for 6 percent of the total).[44] Left to their own accord, in time, the diverse elements of the Ukraine's social structure would probably have worked out a social democratic solution similiar to the one established in Georgia under Menshevik leadership. The Ukraine, however, was far too important to be left to its own devices.

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[44] Rybalka and Turchenko, "Sotsial'no-klasova struktura," p. 29.

Social Questions and National Revolution: The Ukrainian National Republic in 1919–1920

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Anyone examining the course of the revolution in the Ukraine in the years 1919 and 1920 in terms of the interplay between social questions and the attempted national revolution should not lose sight of the revolution as a whole. At first glance, the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR) in the Directory period may appear to be part of an ongoing process that was continually opening up new perspectives. But in fact, the military and political events of 1919 and 1920 were the conclusion of a development whose driving forces were already exhausted in the spring of 1919. This paper seeks to throw light on this state of affairs.

After the dissolution of the Central Rada's republic and the overthrow of Hetman Pavlo Skoropads'kyi's regime, when the Directory assumed power and the struggle for an independent Ukrainian state began, the third phase of revolutionary development in the Ukraine had already been reached. The external forces that had contributed to the end of the Central Rada and that had helped to establish the Hetmanate, namely, the Red Guards and the armies of the Central Powers, had become paralyzed. In the case of the former, this would prove temporary, but in the case of the latter, it was to be forever. Yet the overthrow of the Hetmanate was by no means in the wind, because internal social and political forces, despite the initially successful revolutionary act, were in a desolate state.

Ideological differences prevented the leftist Ukrainian parties, the Social Democrats and Social Revolutionaries, both excluded from practical political activity, from engaging in any continuous collaboration with the mainly bourgeois opposition groups that had joined together to form the National State Union (*Natsional'no-derzhavnyi soiuz*) in May 1918.[1] The Union itself, handicapped by a lack of institutional ways of bringing leverage to bear, had hardly launched into political activity and was only slowly approaching its goal of consolidating the national forces. Generally

[1] Cf. Dmytro Doroshenko, *Istoriia Ukrainy 1917–1923 rr.*, vol. 2: *Ukrains'ka hetmans'ka derzhava 1918 roku* (Uzhhorod, 1930; rpt'd 2nd ed. New York, 1954), p. 103ff.; Taras Hunczak, "The Ukraine under Hetman Pavlo Skoropadskyi," in *The Ukraine, 1917–1921: A Study in Revolution*, T. Hunczak, ed. with the assistance of J. T. von der Heide (Cambridge, Mass., 1977), p. 73.

speaking, its activity was restricted to submitting petitions to the hetman and the German occupation authorities, which responded with reprisals, as they had to similar petitions from the *zemstvo* organization.[2] It was only the resultant growing tension between the regime and opposition that spurred the Social Democrats and sections of the Social Revolutionaries to join forces with the Union over the summer. After having incorporated trade unions and students' and peasants' organizations, the Union now had a wide social base and a very diffuse political one. Apart from their rejection of the Hetmanate in its current form, there was nothing holding them together. It soon became apparent that the opposition alliance, born of necessity and renamed the Ukrainian National Union (*Ukrains'kyi natsional'nyi soiuz*), was not in a position to take decisive action. The initiative for Skoropads'kyi's overthrow came from a handful of determined individuals: Volodymyr Vynnychenko, Mykyta Shapoval, Andrii Makarenko, Mykhailo Avdiienko, Ievhen Konovalets', and Oleksander Osets'kyi. It is true that they belonged to various political and social groupings, but they did not act as their official representatives. Initially, Avdiienko was the only Social Democrat among them, apart from Vynnychenko, because Petliura, who was still in prison at the time, did not yet figure in the picture. It had not been possible to persuade the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Socialist Labor Party (USDRP) to stage an uprising. The Socialist-Federalists, too, refused to collaborate.[3] Shapoval belonged to the Social Revolutionaries' party; only two other members of its central committee appear to have been told about Vynnychenko's plans for an overthrow.[4] Makarenko, a ministry official, was non-party; his collaboration was useful because he was in charge of the railway department at the Ministry of Transport and had appropriate administrative-technical knowledge. However, viewed politically, he was more a fellow-traveler, like General Osets'kyi, who commanded the hetman's railway troops and was therefore an important fellow conspirator. The fact that, with Colonel Konovalets', the Corps of *Sich* Riflemen (*Sichovi stril'tsi*) was available had great importance for the planned undertaking, and was probably one of Vynnychenko's hard-won successes.[5] Taken all in all, at the beginning of the uprising, there

[2] Doroshenko, *Istoriia Ukrainy*, 2: 107–111; memorandum to the German envoy von Mumm, in Symon Petliura, *Statti, lysty, dokumenty* (New York, 1956), pp. 222–26.
[3] Volodymyr Vynnychenko, *Vidrodzhennia natsii*, vol. 2 (Kiev and Vienna, 1920), p. 94.
[4] Cf. Matvii Stakhiv, *Ukraina v dobi Dyrektorii UNR*, vol. 1: *Vlastnymy sylamy* (Scranton, Penn., and New York, 1962), p. 32.
[5] Cf. Doroshenko, *Istoriia Ukrainy*, 2: 406; Ievhen Konovalets', *Prychynky do istorii revoliutsii* (Prague, 1928), p. 11ff.; Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak, "The Directory of the Ukrainian National Republic," in *The Ukraine, 1917–1921*, p. 83ff.

was a lack of the spontaneous and energetic vigor characteristic of revolution.

The Union as such remained uninvolved. The majority of members in the political parties and social organizations supporting the Union were not interested in revolution. Perhaps its change of name in the summer of 1918, from National State Union to National Union, was already a sign of the organization's departure from a clearly held objective to a more programmatic, non-committal approach. Due to the occupation, almost all opposition groups professed themselves to be national, which allowed them to work together without having to show their true colors. Abandoning the designations national *and* state required the profession of an actual strategic goal, with which, in the long run, all subsequent political and tactical steps would have to comply. But that would have necessitated a committed, active policy, which would have had an influence on events and on a mobilized following. Because clear political goals and convincing programs were lacking among all Ukrainian parties,[6] their common attitude was: wait and react, rather than act.

The Hetmanate was brought down by a mass uprising in which the Ukrainian National Union had virtually no part. Although the Directory, as the political center and guiding institution of this revolution, attempted to reflect the Union's proportional mix in its own make-up,[7] it failed to secure a genuine representation or a broad social base. The consequences for the UNR in 1919 and 1920 proved to be severe: the attempted national liberation of the Ukraine failed.

The question of whether the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917–1920 was indeed a complete failure constitutes a topic in its own right. Did not the revolutionary events of those years advance the national cause a great deal, as some historians have repeatedly suggested? They refer to the subsequent existence of a Ukrainian Soviet Republic and the vehement development of

[6] Arthur E. Adams justifiably notes: "the roles of the political parties have often been so overemphasized as to give the impression that all the important forces at work in the Ukraine were concentrated in party centers and in the governments they established." A. E. Adams, "The Great Ukrainian Jacquerie," in *The Ukraine, 1917–1921*, p. 249.

[7] Vynnychenko and Petliura were Social Democrats, Fedir Shvets' was close to the Social Revolutionaries, Makarenko was non-party, and Opanas Andriievs'kyi was a member of the Socialist-Independent party. On the origins of the Directory and its composition, see Vynnychenko, *Vidrodzhennia*, 3:94, 110; Mykyta Shapoval, *Het'manshchyna i Dyrektoriia: Spohady*, ed. Sava Zerkal (New York, 1958), p. 83; Vasyl' Prokhoda, "Uvahy do pratsi d-ra Matviia Stakhova 'Ukraina v dobi Dyrektorii UNR,'" in *Ukrains'kyi istoryk* 4, no. 1–2 (13–14) (1967): 97.

a Ukrainian national consciousness in the interwar period.[8] This is undoubtedly the case, but will not concern us any further here. The intention is, instead, to present the conditions that contributed so decisively to the UNR's failure to achieve independence in either 1919 or 1920.

If one recalls the course of political and military events in those years, it is clear that external factors were of vital importance in the failure of the Directory's attempted national revolution. Such factors included the interests of the Great Powers, foreign interventions, nascent and unstable bordering states, as well as rapidly changing foreign political constellations. They had an influence because of the historical and socioeconomic factors at play in the Ukraine, which in turn had a decisive impact on the Ukrainian national movement and finally caused the objective of a "united, indivisible, free, and independent Ukraine"[9] to recede far into the distance.

A free, sovereign Ukrainian state, as proclaimed by the Central Rada in January 1918 and fought for to the bitter end by the Directory under Symon Petliura's leadership, emerged as an idea and political goal in the Dnieper Ukraine at a relatively late stage. In contrast, for instance, to Poland, in the Ukraine state traditions of its own, which might be revived readily, were present only in rudimentary form and only in the areas of the erstwhile Hetman state. In addition, this tradition existed in tension, or even in competition, with the pre-state, libertarian anarchic tradition of the Sich Cossacks and the Haidamak movement, which had been so carefully cultivated and handed down in Taras Shevchenko's poetry[10] and in Mykola Kostomarov's historical accounts.[11] These anarchistic-individualistic patterns of thought and action could hardly be superseded by the educational efforts of Ukrainian politicians striving to establish a modern state. The UNR's military leadership and, in particular, the most decisive figure during the Directory period, Symon Petliura, purposefully selected and used historical emblems and titles in an attempt to create a national identity. Granting titles and ranks, such as *otaman* and *osaul*, and regimental names and troop

[8] Cf. John S. Reshetar, Jr., "The Ukrainian Revolution in Retrospect," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 10 (1968): 129–32; Omeljan Pritsak and J. S. Reshetar, "The Ukraine and the Dialectics of Nation-Building," *Slavic Review* 22, no. 2 (1963):224–55; James E. Mace, *Communism and the Dilemmas of National Liberation: National Communism in the Soviet Ukraine, 1918–1933* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983).

[9] This was the main demand of the Revolutionary Ukrainian party (*Revoliutsiina ukrains'ka partiia*), founded in Kharkiv in 1897, from which the most important Ukrainian parties issued. Of particular importance in this context is George Y. Boshyk, "The Rise of Ukrainian Political Parties in Russia, 1900–1907: With Special Reference to Social Democracy" (D. Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1981).

[10] E.g., in "Haidamaky" in the *Kobzar*.

[11] E.g., in M. Kostomarov's *Bogdan Khmel'nitskii i vozrashchenie Iuzhnoi Rusi k Rossii.*

designations, such as *Polubotok* Regiment, *Kish*, etc., were among such efforts. However, they could not overcome the lack of national awareness among the great mass of the population.

Hardly any sign of a modern, developed national consciousness existed in the Dnieper Ukraine in the nineteenth century. Sporadic beginnings, on which it was possible to build from 1917 on, had emerged only at the beginning of the twentieth century, and only after vital impulses had come from Eastern Galicia.[12] There, under Habsburg rule, a narrow Ukrainian bourgeois and intellectual class was developing in towns from the second half of the nineteenth century on,[13] which gradually adopted clearly national contours in the course of the disputes with the economically and politically dominant Poles.[14] From the towns and cities a sense of national identity was passed on to the rural population by the Uniate clergy, so that in Eastern Galicia one can justifiably speak of an ethnically and politically unified Ukrainian population in 1918.

In the Dnieper or Eastern Ukraine under Russian rule, the situation was very different. The vast majority of the urban population was made up of non-Ukrainians. According to the 1897 census, for instance, 54 percent of the population in Kiev were Russians, and only 22 percent were Ukrainians. In Kharkiv the situation was similar, with approximately 63 percent Russians to 26 percent Ukrainians. Only Poltava was an exception. There Ukrainian inhabitants formed the majority, at 56 percent, followed by 20.6 percent Russians and 19.9 percent Jews.[15] Thus in the Eastern Ukraine there was virtually no Ukrainian bourgeoisie.[16] True, there was a small group of Ukrainian intellectuals, but they were not allowed to act as such. Their role as mediators between town and country, as the bearers and promoters of a Ukrainian patriotism and national consciousness, had only a modest effect up until 1917. Due to the repressive conditions under the tsars, they had had to confine themselves to semi-public and conspiratorial activities which

12 Volodymyr Doroshenko, *Ukrainstvo v Rosii. Novishi chasy. Z portretamy* (Vienna, 1917), p. 112ff.; Ivan L. Rudnytsky, "The Ukrainians in Galicia under Austrian Rule," *Austrian History Yearbook* 3, pt. 2 (1967): 413–16.

13 Wolf-Dieter Bihl, "Die Ruthenen," in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, ed. A. Wandruszka and P. Urbanitsch, vol. 3: *Die Völker des Reiches*, pt. 1 (Vienna, 1980), p. 564.

14 Cf. Austriacus, *Polnische Russophilen und Massenverhaftungen staatstreuer Ukrainer in Galizien* (Berlin, 1915), pp. 4, 8; Mykhailo Lozyns'kyi, *Wie die Polen ihre Freiheit verstehen* (Berlin, 1915), passim; Piotr S. Wandycz, "The Poles in the Habsburg Monarchy," in *Nation-building and the Politics of Nationalism: Essays on Austrian Galicia*, ed. Andrei S. Markovits and Frank E. Sysyn (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), pp. 23–93.

15 Steven L. Guthier, "The Popular Base of Ukrainian Nationalism in 1917," *Slavic Review* 38, no. 1 (1979): 41.

16 Cf. Bohdan Krawchenko, "The Social Structure of Ukraine at the Turn of the 20th Century," *East European Quarterly* 16, no. 2 (1982): 176–79.

only rarely touched the mass of their peasant compatriots.[17] The reasons for this state of affairs, apart from the omnipresent police, were not just the organizational shortcomings of new political parties[18] or the high illiteracy rate among the rural population, whom it was almost impossible to influence with pamphlets and leaflets,[19] but also the intellectuals' unrealistic statements, which often did not correspond with the interests of the peasants being addressed.[20] Hence the national movement was able to exercise only a very slight influence on the population of the Ukraine.

The most important Ukrainian parties from the national revolutionary standpoint, the Social Democrats and the Social Revolutionaries, adopted the demand for a separation of the Ukraine from Russia only at the beginning of 1918, in the Fourth Universal of the Central Rada. Probably this demand also substituted for a call for social revolution, which was being demanded with ever greater vehemence towards the end of 1917.[21] The Central Rada was no longer in a position to deal with the outcry for social revolution, due to chaotic external circumstances, inadequate internal organization, as well as a false assessment of the population's needs. Thus the demand for separation, a politically unprecedented act, was recognized only slowly and then was overshadowed by different problems resulting from the Central Powers' occupation; also, as a demand by the Central Rada, it seemed to become obsolete with the latter's dissolution. Yet the call for independence did become a controversial topic of discussion. Behind the scenes it divided parties that in 1919 had formed neither socially nor politically logical programs, and were not prepared to undertake any systematic course of action after Skoropads'kyi's overthrow. These shortcomings were also characteristic of the Directory from its outset.

National independence could be achieved only within the framework of economic and social reform, for which, apart from (the then non-existent) peace in Europe, suitable organizational means and political concepts were

[17] Boshyk, "Rise of Ukrainian Political Parties," p. 155ff.

[18] These were almost exclusively the RUP (Revolutionary Ukrainian Party) and then the USDRP. Cf. Ievhen Chykalenko, *Spohady (1861–1907)* (Lviv, 1925; rpt'd New York, 1955), p. 33.

[19] Chykalenko, *Spohady (1861–1907)*, p. 28.

[20] Panas Fedenko, *Ukrains'kyi rukh u 20 stolitti* (London, 1959), p. 58; *Obshchestvennoe dvizhenie v Rossii v nachale XX-go veka*, ed. L. Martov and A. Potresov, vol. 3, bk. 5: *Partii—ikh sostav, razvitie i proiavlenie v massovom dvizhenii, na vyborakh i v dume* (St. Petersburg, 1914; facs. ed. Ann Arbor and London, 1978), p. 295.

[21] Arnold Margolin, *Ukraina i politika antanty: Zapiski evreia i grazhdanina* (Berlin, 1922), p. 43; Pavlo Khrystiuk, *Zamitky i materiialy do istorii ukrains'koi revoliutsii 1917–1920 rr.*, vol. 4 (Vienna, 1922), p. 45ff.; Yaroslav Bilinsky, "The Communist Take-Over of the Ukraine," in *The Ukraine, 1917–1921*, p. 111ff.; Oleh S. Pidhainy, *The Formation of the Ukrainian Republic* (Toronto, 1966), p. 150.

necessary. In actual terms this meant that the UNR had to interest the Ukrainian rural population—87 percent of which, according to the 1897 census, lived from agriculture—[22] in its state. In 1917, approximately 15 percent of the population engaged in agriculture did not possess any arable land; furthermore, roughly 42 percent of landholdings—about 1.8 million in number—were between one and five *desiatyns* in size.[23] Overpopulation and land hunger were characteristic of the situation in the countryside, despite resettlement and the emigration of landless peasants. It was also clear to one group of revolutionaries that agrarian reform was a most urgent task that had to be tackled immediately. Thus on 18 January 1918, the Central Rada promulgated an agrarian law, the most important provisions of which envisaged the nationalization of all land. The law left implementation to the land committees already existing at the communal, *volost'*, *povit'*, and *guberniia* levels. Each individual holding, collective, or cooperative was to be allotted as much land as it could manage without additional help. But it would be up to a subsequent Ukrainian constituent assembly to decide on a final agrarian constitution.[24] A law enacted by the Directory on 8 January 1919 continued the modification that the amount of land for any individual holding was not to exceed 15 *desiatyns* (holdings with soils of poorer quality and wasteland were excepted). On January 18 of the same year, a special law decreed that members of the UNR's army were to be given an additional two *desiatyns*, as well as an interest-free loan of 2,000 *grivnas*. Landless peasants and small landholders were to be allotted confiscated arable land, normally not less than 5 *desiatyns*.[25] This was equivalent to approximately 5.5 hectares, which would suffice to support a family only if the soil was good.

This agrarian reform did not come broadly into effect, for a number of reasons. The majority of holdings on the Right Bank were hereditary, the private property of their landlords.[26] There the agrarian law and its implementing regulations were just about equivalent to socialization and collectivization. Other problems ensued. The UNR was never given the opportunity to demonstrate the suitability of its reform, because shortly after the promulgation of the law, the Directory and its government agencies had to evacuate Kiev before the advancing Bolsheviks. The areas in which the UNR was able to exercise government authority became narrower and

22 Krawchenko, "Social Structure of Ukraine," p. 175.

23 Illia Vytanovych, "Agrarna polityka ukrains'kykh uriadiv rokiv revoliutsii i vyzvol'nykh zmahan' (1917–20)," *Ukrains'kyi istoryk* 4, no. 3–4 (15–16) (1967): 9.

24 Vytanovych, "Agrarna polityka," p. 36ff.

25 Vytanovych, "Agrarna polityka," p. 50.

26 Guthier, "Popular Base of Ukrainian Nationalism," p. 32ff.

narrower, or were in Ukrainian hands only briefly. Also, hardly any district administrations were functioning properly. In the countryside, chaos and anarchy prevailed. Even where UNR institutions governed, for the most part they did so badly or not in accord with government instructions. As early as January 1919, peasant representatives were complaining that local Directory functionaries were preventing social reforms and operating against the interests of large sections of the population. They charged that the administrative apparatus was excessively influenced by bourgeois forces and by parties of the right who were seeking to boycott the revolution. They therefore demanded the transfer of executive power to local councils of deputies, which in the future would control the government commissars appointed from above.[27] One person who recognized the problem was the first chairman of the Directory, Volodymyr Vynnychenko, who also complained angrily about individual military commanders' brutal and arbitrary procedures; one such case was *Otaman* Bolbochan, who, crippled by a blind "nationalism verging on fanaticism," raged against all institutions and measures that appeared even remotely Bolshevist.[28]

The various UNR governments were never able to remedy these shortcomings. They constituted part of the internal structure of the Directory state, the result of the incompetence of parties which hardly deserved to be called such. At the outbreak of the revolution in 1917, neither the Social Democrats nor the Social Revolutionaries nor the Social Federalists nor the Social Independents had any clearly formulated programs or even objectives common to all their respective members. The Federalist and Independent parties, on the right of the ideological spectrum, successors to the Association of Ukrainian Progressives (TUP), were constituted only at the beginning of 1917,[29] parallel to the Central Rada. True, they did pick up member and programmatic elements from older parties, such as the Ukrainian People's party and the Radical Democratic party, established after 1905.[30] Yet even those parties had never played an active political, let alone revolutionary, role, if one disregards individual members' activities in the cooperative movement and in the Prosvita society. Before the outbreak of the First World War, their existence had been limited to salon discussions and literary circles.[31] They had no prior organizational structure or political experience to call on. The Socialist Federalists remained, like their

27 Khrystiuk, *Zamitky i materiialy*, 4: 48.
28 Vynnychenko, *Vidrodzhennia*, 3: 182ff.
29 Doroshenko, *Istoriia Ukrainy*, 1: 53ff.
30 Doroshenko, *Istoriia Ukrainy*, 1: 54.
31 Chykalenko, *Spohady (1861–1907)*, p. 33.

party predecessors, an alliance of members of the *intelligentsia*, namely, professors, teachers, doctors, lawyers, and estate owners of unmistakably bourgeois cast, who now had to move in a revolutionary scenario for whose system of values and hierarchy of interests they had little understanding. The position of the Social Independents was similar, except that their members were largely recruited from among officers and government officials and their program was decidedly nationalist. But their party was even smaller in number than that of the Social Federalists.[32] The agrarian-political concepts—and not only these—of both parties were, to quote a contemporary observer, "more or less moderate."[33] In the case of the Independents they were, admittedly, neither publicly formulated nor defined in any program. No agrarian policy figured in their party program, which was fixed on the national struggle.[34] The Independents did, however, give their approval to the Directory's agrarian laws, probably more as an expression of political opportunism and less because of decided conviction. The Social Federalists voted against it,[35] partly because, in the initial phase of the Directory's revolution and its socialist government under the left-wing Social Democrat Volodymyr M. Chekhivs'kyi, they were basically opposed, and partly because they believed that the nationalization of landed property without compensation went too far.[36]

The attitude of both parties toward the agrarian question clearly reflected their political interests and ideological system of values. Contrary to what one might expect by the party designations, these were by no means socialist and could only to a very limited degree be called revolutionary. The fact that these parties added "socialist" to their names proved to be simply a non-committal concession to the revolutionary, left-leaning spirit of the age. It was the political expression of the common man's real need for socioeconomic change. That need was only very perfunctorily perceived, however, by these two parties of the right: in practice, the designations Social Federalist and Social Independent remained a purely populist gesture.

32 In the majority of cases we do not, unfortunately, have any exact membership figures. In March 1918, Austrian military intelligence reported on the Independents as a party "very few in numbers." Theophil Hornykiewicz, *Ereignisse in der Ukraine 1914–1922, deren Bedeutung und historische Hintergründe*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia, 1966), p. 351.

33 P. Haidalemivs'kyi, *Ukrains'ki politychni partii: Ikh rozvytok i programy* (Salzwedel, 1919), p. 38.

34 Haidalemisv'kyi, *Ukrains'ki politychni partii*, p. 35; cf. also Jurij Borys, "Political Parties in the Ukraine," in *The Ukraine, 1917–1921*, p. 144.

35 Vytanovych, "Agrarna polityka," p. 50.

36 Cf. Haidalemivs'kyi, *Ukrains'ki politychni partii*, p. 37.

The parties of the left also fell short of the demands of the revolutionary situation. Their organizational inadequacies were just as blatant as the inconsistencies in their political program. The Social Revolutionaries had formed a party only in 1917, after a previous failed attempt in 1906.[37] The radical agrarian program that they advocated made it appear that they were well on the way to becoming a mass party representing peasant interests. Soon, however, splits of various kinds weakened the party's ranks. In addition, the party was unable either to agree on a definite agrarian program or to make its program platform, which fluctuated between nationalization and socialization, plausible to potential supporters.[38] The Directory's agrarian law did, it is true, contain many elements inspired by the Social Revolutionaries, who had played a decisive role in the law's drafting, but the party played no other significant part in the history of the UNR. Later, representatives of its left wing, who had broken away already in April 1918 and had then entered into varying coalitions as *Borot'bist*s, helped the Bolsheviks to become established in the Ukraine as an autochthonous force. This development was preceded in the summer of 1919 by a link-up of the left-wing Social Revolutionaries with a group of left-wing Social Democrats who had left the USDRP as "Independents" (*Nezalezhnyky*).[39]

The oldest of the leftist parties, the USDRP, could, it is true, look back on a revolutionary past of its own, but in sharing government responsibility with the Social Revolutionaries in the first Directory cabinet, it suffered from defects similar to those of the other parties. Its organization, which had brought together over 3,000 members between 1905 and 1907,[40] had been essentially disbanded by the tsarist authorities prior to the First World War. Its most active functionaries, such as Porsh, Vynnychenko, Petliura, and Iurkevych, had then been forced to move their political work abroad or continue it clandestinely behind a façade of nominally legal activities in editorial offices, cultural institutions, or *zemstvo* administrations.[41] Thus the USDRP also had to begin afresh in 1917. This was not easy, because the party leaders who came together now represented two distinct factions

[37] Mykola Kovalevs'kyi, *Pry dzherelakh borot'by: Spomyny, vrazhennia, refleksii* (Innsbruck, 1960), p. 105; Wolfdieter Bihl, "Die Tätigkeit des ukrainischen Revolutionärs Mykola Zaliznjak in Österreich-Ungarn," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, n.s. 13 (1965): 226–30.

[38] Cf. Khrystiuk, *Zamitky i materiialy*; Mykola Shapoval, *Revoliutsiinyi sotsializm na Ukraini* (Vienna, 1921), passim; Vytanovych, "Agrarna polityka."

[39] See Mace, *Communism and the Dilemmas*, p. 53ff.; Iwan Majstrenko, *Borot'bism: A Chapter in the History of Ukrainian Communism* (New York, 1954).

[40] Fedenko, *Ukrains'kyi rukh*, p. 68; *Obshchestvennoe dvizhenie*, p. 298.

[41] Kovalevs'kyi, *Pry dzherelakh borot'by*, pp. 106, 113, 201; cf. Doroshenko, *Ukrainstvo v Rosii*, p. 67ff.

which had been at odds since the founding of the party. The more right-wing group wanted to work towards achieving national autonomy for the Ukraine, in the belief that its social-democratic objectives, which were basically the same as those of its opposition, within the party could be attained only through national self-determination. On the other hand, the demand for national autonomy was of secondary importance for the more left-wing, internationally oriented faction of the party, for whom the national aspect was subordinate to that of radical socioeconomic change as the primary objective. It thus adhered to the teachings of the party's founder, Dmytro Antonovych, who had described the national question as an invention of the bourgeoisie.[42] The left wing did not, it is true, unreservedly adopt this verdict by Antonovych, who, together with his supporters, had long since left the party; the fundamental internal conflict was resolved only on paper and only in 1919, after two years of revolution. Practical party work continued to take a back seat in the face of ideological warfare, made all the worse because right up to the end the USDRP regarded itself as the champion of a Ukrainian proletariat, which in practice hardly existed. In the traditional industrial areas of the Ukraine, in the *guberniias* of Katerynoslav, Kherson, and Tauria, and in the Don district, the Social Democrats had neither members nor an organization.[43] The same could be said about towns in which the Ukrainian community was restricted "to one Ukrainian bookshop."[44] Winning over the peasant population was a most difficult task. The essential precondition was an appropriate agrarian program—something the Social Democrats did not have. On that issue they followed the concepts of the Social Revolutionaries, but rejected their plan of socialization in favor of the nationalization of landed property.[45] Ultimately this led to a compromise between the two parties, in the agrarian law of January 1919.

The decision on the UNR's future constitution and form of government also represented a compromise with that section of the Social Revolutionaries which continued to represent that party after its internal splits. The possibilities under debate were a constitution as a democratic parliamentary republic, or the socialist model of a republic governed by councils (*rady*). Both alternatives had supporters in all the left-wing parties. Those

42 Cf. Andrii Zhuk, "Pam"iati Mykoly Porsha (1877–1944): Z nahody 85-littia z dnia narodzhennia," *Suchasnist'*, 1962, no. 1, p. 56; Boshyk, "Rise of Ukrainian Political Parties," pp. 244, 261ff.

43 Zhuk, "Pam"iati Mykoly Porsha," p. 59; Boshyk, "Rise of Ukrainian Political Parties," p. 320; Krawchenko, "Social Structure of Ukraine," p. 178.

44 Kovalevs'kyi, *Pry dzherelakh borot'by*, p. 113.

45 Khrystiuk, *Zamitky i materiialy*, 2: 59; Vytanovych, "Agrarna polityka," p. 22.

Social Democrats who backed the Directory favored a parliamentary system on the Western model, without, however, agreeing on details. The left-wing Social Democrats and the Social Revolutionaries advocated the council system,[46] as an expression of direct participation by workers and peasants, with Soviet Russia serving as a model, modified to suit Ukrainian requirements. Agreement was finally reached on a suggestion put forward by Vynnychenko, who essentially favored the council system. The postulate of a ''Dictatorship of the Proletariat,'' which was rejected by the Social Democrats led by Petliura and the majority of Directory members, was to be replaced by the principle of a ''Dictatorship of the Working People'' (*Diktatura trudovoho liudu*).[47] This meant that, in contrast to the Soviet Russian model, practically everybody who lived from his own work would be given the right to vote and thus the opportunity for political participation. However, the course of events in January and February 1919 prevented both the institutional establishment of the UNR in Kiev and the formal sanctioning of its form of government by the Congress of Working People. Pressed by the advance of Soviet troops under Antonov-Ovseenko on the Ukrainian capital, the hastily summoned Congress confirmed the Directory as the supreme organ of state power and postponed decisions on all other questions.[48] Thus the line adopted by the ''moderate'' left forces, who were not only against the council system, but also did not believe in the possibility of or did not want to reach any understanding with the Soviet government, prevailed in practice. This had already become apparent at the Sixth Congress of the USDRP held from January 10 to 12, when a majority had voted against the left wing and its council concepts, and at the same time for a policy which no longer sought to avoid war with Moscow.[49] The defeated group then moved even further away from the party, as *Nezalezhnyky*, and towards the Bolsheviks, in whose organization they were ultimately swallowed up.

The break-up of the most important Ukrainian parties, which began early in their history along ideological lines, and continued due to structural faults and individual ambitions, quickly immobilized them as a political force. Thus there was a lack of reliable organizations to serve as a link to the populace or as an institutional corrective to the decisions taken by the revolution's few leading personalities and ideologists. Even Vynnychenko

46 Stakhiv, *Ukraina v dobi Dyrektorii*, 1: 109.

47 Vynnychenko, *Vidrodzhennia*, 3: 141; Stakhiv, *Ukraina v dobi Dyrektorii*, 1: 110.

48 Cf. Khrystiuk, *Zamitky i materiialy*, 4: 66.

49 Khrystiuk, *Zamitky i materiialy*, 4: 50ff.; cf. also John S. Reshetar, *The Ukrainian Revolution, 1917–1920: A Study in Nationalism* (Princeton, 1952), pp. 228, 231ff.

and Petliura made an impression more on account of their personal magnetism and charisma, and less through convincing, mobilizing programs. In addition, these two major figures could not reconcile their ideological views: they had different theoretical approaches and contradictory notions of how to attain their revolutionary goal, and, indeed, about the latter itself. Hetman Skoropads'kyi's downfall at the end of 1918 was their joint work, but their paths separated soon afterwards.

Volodymyr Vynnychenko and Symon Petliura personified the two fundamental trends determining and characterizing the USDRP's program right from the outset. On the one hand, there was a marxist-socialist trend, the representatives of which regarded themselves as part of the revolutionary labor movement, learned from its theoretical and practical works, and oriented their program and policy in accord with European Social Democracy.[50] On the other hand was a trend that can be described as nationalist and socialist, although, admittedly, there was always a broad overlap between the two divisions; both had come into being in the Ukraine as a product of the process of the genesis of national consciousness. However, whereas the marxist-socialist orientation understood the demand for national autonomy as a natural result of the revolution and of socioeconomic changes, the nationalist-socialist one regarded national liberation as a prerequisite for the free social and cultural development of the Ukraine.[51] Because, as mentioned above, the party was never able to consolidate itself around one of the two orientations, they were the subject of constant internal disputes, which very soon turned Vynnychenko and Petliura against one another,[52] and played a decisive role in determining their actions in 1919 and 1920. The reality of the revolution now became a battleground for the protagonists, as well as for their concepts.

Vynnychenko, a man of letters, was—when measured against his party comrades—a social democrat of the purest sort, but not a Bolshevik. With his marxist training, he regarded himself as an anti-imperialist, national revolutionary who had opted for council-rule socialism. Admittedly, he had difficulty in adapting his vague concepts of that system to Ukrainian conditions and in clearly disassociating them from the soviet system practiced by the Russian Social Democrats, which was no longer supported by the majority of his own party. Yet he hesitated for a long time before breaking with the Ukrainian Social Democrats. In his concepts, the national aspect

50 Cf. Zhuk, "Pam"iati Mykoly Porsha," p. 53; Fedenko, *Ukrains'kyi rukh*, p. 46; *Obshchestvennoe dvizhenie*, p. 296.

51 Cf. Boshyk, "Rise of Ukrainian Political Parties."

52 *Symon Petliura v molodosti: Zbirka spomyniv*, ed. A. Zhuk (Lviv, 1936), p. 54.

of revolution was always taken into account, but his national outlook did not extend beyond a patriotic link to the country and people of the Ukraine. An independent Ukrainian state did not form part of Vynnychenko's political demands, even in 1919. He sought self-government and autonomy for his country within the framework of the federation into which the former Russian Empire was to be transformed. He had described his position on this at the end of 1917, in a manner similar to Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi's statement in September of that year:[53] "For a socialist, the national development is an unavoidable, natural, and useful factor and means of bringing people closer to the higher forms of social life, and for nationalists it is the goal itself, the ultimate goal, on which they dwell a while, freeze, and then return." Independence, he felt, could be sought only if socioeconomic conditions made it necessary in order to attain socialism. Yet, because the Ukraine's historical links with Russia were decidedly close but its foreign policy options were not, separating itself from Russia risked falling into the hands of the imperialist outside powers.[54] Achieving national independence at any price was unacceptable to Vynnychenko in 1919. Over and above everything else he was a socialist, as well as a utopian and romantic, who was striving for the "transformation of all relationships, laws, gods, sins, attitudes, and estates." He dreamt of "villages lit by electricity, set in gardens, linked by highways, railways and steamers," and he pictured a modern, progressive Ukrainian commonwealth with "factory palaces and university temples, with cities without dirty, confined suburbs, and without prisons."[55] At the same time, however, he was aware that words like "state," and "nation" were no more than abstract terms for the mass of the Ukrainian population, the peasants, abstractions which would not mobilize them. Soon after the Directory's triumphal entry into Kiev, Vynnychenko noted in his diary for 29 December 1918, the certain realization that the Ukrainian people was still far from forming a nation: "They are sullen, discontented. . .people. We want to make them into a nation, and they look askance at our manipulations and grumble angrily."[56] A few days later he confided his pessimistic evaluation of the likely course

[53] Hrushevs'kyi in September 1917: "For us Ukrainians, state independence does not lie in front of us, but behind us. . . .We do not regard the Federation as a way to self-government, but as a way to new perspectives—as a way to a Federation of Europe and in future to a Federation of the whole world." *Ukrains'ka suspil'no-politychna dumka v 20 stolitti: Dokumenty i materiialy*, ed. T. Hunczak and Roman Solchanyk, vol. 1 (n.p., 1983), p. 328.

[54] *Ukrains'ka suspilno-politychna dumka*, 1:323.

[55] Volodymyr Vynnychenko, *Shchodennyk*, vol. 1: *1911–1920*, ed. and with an introduction by Hryhorii Kostiuk (Edmunton and New York, 1980), p. 310.

[56] Vynnychenko, *Shchodennyk*, 1:309.

of revolutionary events to his diary: "With only 'peasants' (*muzhykamy*), with the 'people,' with only sullen, hunted peasants, who know only the piece of land on which they eke out their living, it is difficult to do battle for something unknown, incomprehensible, and unheard of to them. . . . And how can one move the peasant masses against their very selves if one does not give them any real compensation for this?"[57] The events of ensuing weeks confirmed Vynnychenko's evaluation.

On 19 December 1918, the Directory took control of the government in Kiev, supported by an army which still numbered some 100,000 men at the beginning of January 1919, including those behind the lines and irregular units.[58] After the call for the hetman's overthrow, insurgent detachments had formed spontaneously throughout the Ukraine, and volunteers had flooded into the Directory's regular army from all sides. Already by the end of December, however, mass desertions from the blue and yellow colors were occurring everywhere, forcing Petliura's general staff to investigate this development closely. The head of the operative division, General Mykola Kapustians'kyi, came to the following conclusion in his report to Petliura: whereas the units made up of Galicians had proved to be reliable, well-motivated, and tactically efficient, this was less true of the Dnieper Ukrainians. Without mincing matters, the general observed: "Taking due account of the fact that the main contingent of soldiers is made up of peasants, it is imperative, if we are to avoid a catastrophe, to take due account of in whose name it was that the peasantry revolted, what tasks they have set themselves, and to what extent and against which enemy they are prepared to stand up for their interests." He went on to supply the answer himself: "The peasantry revolted, in the majority of cases, mainly for social reasons, and only a portion of them were led by a strong national consciousness." He also said that only a minority supported an independent Ukraine, and that the greatest part of the working classes sympathized with the Bolsheviks.[59]

This was typical of the actual situation. The influx of new recruits into the Directory's army in November and December was both spontaneous and brief, the expression of a revolt against a hated regime—the Hetmanate—and the foreign occupying forces supporting it. The peasant

57 Vynnychenko, *Shchodennyk*, 1:312.

58 It is difficult to obtain exact figures. Cf. Vasyl' Prokhoda, "Symon Petliura, vozhd' ukrains'koho viis'ka," *Tabor* 14 (1936): 30; Oleksander Udovychenko, *Ukraina u viini za derzhavnist': Istoriia orhanizatsii i boiovykh dii ukrains'kykh zbroinykh syl, 1917–1921* (Winnipeg, 1954), p. 48.

59 Mykola Kapustians'kyi, *Pokhid ukrains'kykh armii na Kyiv-Odesu v 1919 rotsi: Korotkyi voienno-istorychynyi ohliad*, pt. 1 (Lviv, 1921), p. 17ff.

population had joined forces with the UNR only for the short time when it seemed to be the most viable option and best suited to their own requirements. The peasants were fighting for the power to dispose freely of land and food—and nothing more. The Ukrainian nationalists came up against this attitude again and again in 1919—in insurgent divisions,[60] as well as in units of their vanishing army.[61] At the final crisis, when Petliura sought to regain the Ukraine with the help of the Poles, the peasants' reaction was totally disappointing. During the Ukrainian forces' victorious advance with Piłsudski's armies in April and May 1920, they received only sporadic and short-term support from insurgent groups. Also, the rebels' motives were quite different than what the nationalists around Petliura and the Polish commanders had hoped. The Polish general staff observed as early as the beginning of May:

> Very often, however, the rebel groups were of a purely local and provisional character; they were village groups which had organized themselves to defend against the Bolsheviks, sometimes even bands who were armed and out for robbery.... The general longing of the population was for peace, the desire for a return to regular conditions of work and to a peaceful everyday life; the majority of uprisings were defensive in character; they broke out when there was a threat of requisition or some repressions on the part of the ruling power. As soon as the danger was over, the peasants returned to their cottages.[62]

The UNR's leading politicians and high-ranking officers made similar observations during the winter campaign of December and January 1919/1920, when the population supported the UNR army against a greater evil, Denikin's army of volunteers.[63] This did not, of course, mean they agreed with the UNR program. In January 1920, it gradually became clear to Petliura that it was necessary to offer the peasant population something more than nationalist slogans and uncertain prospects, namely, social relief

[60] George P. Kulchycky, *The Ukrainian Insurgent Movement, 1919 to 1926* (Washington, D.C., 1970), passim.

[61] Hornykiewicz, *Ereignisse in der Ukraine*, 4: 199; Osyp Stanymyr, *Moia uchast' u vyzvolnykh zmahanniakh 1917–1920* (Toronto, 1966), passim; *Grazhdanskaia voina na Ukraine 1918–1920. Sbornik dokumentov i materialov v trekh tomakh, chetyrekh knigakh*, vol. 2; *Bor'ba protiv denikinshchiny i petliurovshchiny na Ukraine, mai 1919 g–fevral' 1920 g*, ed. S. M. Korolivs'kyi (Kiev, 1967), p. 107.

[62] Report by the Historical Bureau of the Polish General Staff of 7/8 May 1920, no. 786/23. Jósef Piłsudski Institute of America for Research in the History of Poland (New York). Wojny Polskie 1918–1921, Wyprawa Kijowska 1920, box 453, roll 300.

[63] Panas Fedenko, "Povstannia natsii," *Zbirnik pam''iaty Symona Petliury* (Prague, 1930), p. 104ff.; Oleksander Dotsenko, *Zymovyi Pokhid: 6.XII.1919–6.V.1920* (Warsaw, 1932), p. xxiv ff.

and material aid.[64] Yet it still proved impossible for him to provide any such aid, even in rudimentary form.

The fact that for ordinary people in the Ukraine the national question took a very poor second place, far behind the desire for a solution to economic and social questions, was something which Vynnychenko and even Chekhivs'kyi had recognized early on. Their resignation and withdrawal from all offices in February 1919 resulted from their realization that the hoped-for social liberation of the Ukraine, without which the national liberation would be pointless, was no longer within the range of possibility. They realized that the foreign policy constellation—the war against the Bolsheviks, the concentration of the Whites, Allied counter-revolutionary intervention—and the fact that the UNR leadership would have to come to some sort of arrangement with at least one of these forces, would hinder consolidation of the state;[65] the pre-condition for any identification of national and state interests would then also be lacking, because the commitment to external forces would bind and paralyze energies required for the revolution within.

Vynnychenko's and Chekhivs'kyi's departure from the Directory and government, together with the left-wing parties' simultaneous withdrawal, made room for Symon Petliura, who now rapidly grew into the role of the Directory's de facto chairman, as well as for his followers, who were mainly military men. Petliura also found political support among the Social Democrats: such loyal colleagues, including Isaak Mazepa and Andrii Livyts'yi, were prepared—despite much internal resistance and ideological misgivings—to follow his course.[66] Petliura's hour had now come, for in his mind, the struggle for state independence was far less a question of social and economic change than one of political power. He believed that such matters as the agrarian constitution and the internal organization of the Ukrainian republic could be put off until after liberation was achieved. Establishment of an independent state had priority for the moment. That goal he sought to achieve with the help of the Entente and the Allies. For its achievement he was prepared to make almost any concession, including renunciation of social revolution, as Allied representatives demanded from

64 Cf. his letter of 28 January 1920 to D. V. Antonovych, in Petliura, *Statti, lysty, dokumenty*, p. 256.

65 Vynnychenko, *Shchodennyk*, 1:321ff.; cf. Bohachevsky-Chomiak, "Directory of the UNR," p. 93ff.

66 The mixed attitude of I. Mazepa, who was very attached to Petliura, is clearly expressed in I. Mazepa, *Ukraina v ohni i buri revolutsii 1917–1921*, 4 vols. (Neu-Ulm, 1950–51).

him and the Directory in the spring of 1919.[67] The concession was not unduly painful because Petliura, in contrast to, say, Vynnychenko, was no theoretician or ideologist of revolution and certainly not of a socialist one. He characterized Vynnychenko's proposed council-rule socialism as an alien Bolshevist import, adopted "from the enemy of human civilization," which sought to "force on the Ukraine a form of communist order alien to it."[68] Without any intellectual reservations he could call that order "Muscovite" or "Russian," because, as he observed, "for us there is no difference between the Tsar's Russia and the present communist one, because both embody different forms of Muscovite imperialism."[69] Reduced to its basic element, this Muscovite imperialism was perceived as the source of all evil by Petliura and his band of loyal followers. It had to be resisted and overcome in order to help the only "sacred idea," that is, for the establishment of an independent Ukrainian state to come into being.

Thus, under Petliura, the once spontaneous uprising from below changed into a revolution from above. The effort remained alive thanks to the charisma of the *holovnyi otaman* and the bravery of a handful of energetic officials and soldiers who endeavored vainly for two years to compensate for the absence of any base within by support from without. For this purpose, Poles and Romanians were just as welcome as the Whites or the French, whose plaything the UNR would in the end become.

The Ukrainian revolution had in fact already come to an end in the spring of 1919, when the struggle was being conducted increasingly under the banner of "Ukrainian statehood" at any price—including that of East Galicia—and the lack of popular support became impossible to ignore. It is astonishing that Petliura succeeded in keeping the UNR's flags flying over the various theaters of war in the Ukraine for two more years. In 1920, this was possible only as Piłsudski's protégé, whereas in 1919 the effort persevered because the military decision between the Poles, Whites, and Red Guards had not yet been reached, thus leaving room for maneuvers by a UNR reduced solely to its army. This army obtained its motivation, to a considerable degree, from the personal magnetism that Petliura indubitably exercised over those around him. As a result, he had not only become the leader of the Ukrainian national movement, but his personality and

[67] Cf. Margolin, *Ukraina i polityka antanty*, p. 123; Mazepa, *Ukraina v ohni*, 1:189; Vynnychenko, *Vidrodzhennia* 3:252ff.; Volodymyr Kosyk, "Zovnishna polityka Symona Petliury," in *Symon Petliura. Zbirnyk studiino-naukovoi konferentsii v Paryzhi (traven' 1976). Statti, zamitky, materiialy*, ed. V. Kosyk (Munich and Paris, 1980), p. 32ff.

[68] Symon Petliura, *Statti, lysty, dokumenty*, vol. 2 (New York, 1979), p. 358.

[69] Quoted from Oleksander Lotots'kyi, ed., *Symon Petliura, Nakladom Komitetu dlia vshannuvannia X. richnytsi Symona Petliury* (Warsaw, 1936), p. 14.

reputation became a substitute for its program. It can be assumed that Petliura acted in the conviction that he was legitimated by history and had to serve as its executor. That conviction may account for his stubbornness in continuing down the path once taken right to the bitter end. His only guideline was success, which ultimately eluded him.

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DOCUMENTS

Comments on Three Letters by Khan Islam Gerey III to the Porte (1651)

ZYGMUNT ABRAHAMOWICZ

The late Alexandre Bennigsen (born 20 March 1913 in St. Petersburg; died 2 August 1988 in Paris), great innovator in the historical study of territories characterized by a "Turco-Tatar past, Soviet present," to use the title of a Festschrift presented by friends and disciples on his seventieth birthday,[1] created a *monumentum aere perennius* for himself in the form of a large volume of materials from the Topkapı Palace Archives in Istanbul. These documents, from the fifteenth through the eighteenth century, not only constitute a fundamental picture of the affairs of the Crimea and its relations with the Ottoman Porte, but also contain much important information about neighboring countries.[2] They were edited by Bennigsen together with a group of Ottomanists at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris. As editor-in-chief, Bennigsen provided a rich and penetrating historical framework for the material, making excellent use of old and new Russian historical literature and giving a great deal of attention to problems concerning Russia. Participation of the Romanian scholar Mihnea Berindei in the enterprise ensured that Romanian historical literature was also used to best effect, and that matters connected with the Danubian principalities were elucidated with keen insight. In some instances, by contrast, important questions related to the Ukraine and Poland leave much to be desired. Not infrequently, even the most important works by Polish and Ukrainian historians concerning events between the Porte and the Crimea and bordering countries have not been taken into account. The editors seem to have

[1] *Passé turco-tatar, présent soviétique: Études offertes à Alexandre Bennigsen*, ed. Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay, Giles Veinstein, S. E. Wimbush (Louvain and Paris, 1986).

[2] *Le khanat de Crimée dans les Archives du Musée du Palais de Topkapı*, ed. Alexandre Bennigsen, Pertev Naili Boratav, Dilek Desaive, and Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay (Paris and The Hague: Mouton, 1978), 455 pp., 3 plates. The Ottomanists Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont, Giles Veinstein, and Mihnea Berindei and the cartographer Madeleine Bonin are also mentioned (p. vii).

been unaware of the great atlas of Poland published in Paris in the eighteenth century, where they might have found solutions to the problems in identifying toponomy in the Polish-Turkish borderland, i.e., the Dniester area, that they encountered.[3] Victor Ostapchuk has already devoted a great deal of attention to an analysis of these sources.[4] I have addressed details he overlooked in a review article in Polish,[5] which I hope to publish in translation. In the interim, I will undertake to analyze here two documents from the French publication that bear on the Ukrainian uprising against the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania led by Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj. These documents also have strong resonance for the Crimea and Turkey, particularly in regard to an important episode taking place in 1651 that was misinterpreted by the Paris editorial group. To the discussion I add a third document unknown to that group because it was not preserved in the archives of the Porte.

Following an alliance with the Crimean khan Islam Gerey III concluded at the beginning of 1648, the anti-Polish uprising led by Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj won three battles in the Ukraine. A combined force of Cossacks and Tatars defeated Polish troops resoundingly on May 16 at the Žovti Vody river,[6] on May 26 near Korsun', and on September 13 near Pyljavci. In 1649, a new Cossack-Tatar campaign began against Poland. Hacı Mehmed Senai of the Crimea, author of the chronicle on the rule of Islam Gerey III to the beginning of August 1651, recorded that the khan started

[3] *Carte de la Pologne devisée par provinces et palatinats...*, ed. J. A. B. Rizzi-Zannoni (Paris, 1772). The locality called *Ukub* in *Le khanat de Crimée*, p. 257 (where in 1769, after the offensive of Turkish troops near Xotyn, "les Russes ont été rejetés sur l'autre rive de Turla," i.e., Dniester) and *'Uqâb* on p. 264 was the Polish fortress *Okop* (Ukrainian *Okip*), actually *Okopy św. Trójcy* 'St. Trinity Trenches' on the left bank of the Dniester near Kam"janec'-Podil's'kyj, which was built in 1683 in connection with Jan III Sobieski's attempts to push the Turks out of Podolia.

[4] Victor Ostapchuk, "The Publication of Documents on the Crimean Khanate in the Topkapı Sarayı: New Sources for the History of the Black Sea Basin," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 6, no. 4 (December 1982): 500–528; idem, "The Publication of Documents on the Crimean Khanate in the Topkapı Sarayı: The Documentary Legacy of Crimean-Ottoman Relations," *Turcica* 19 (1987): 247–76.

[5] Zygmunt Abrahamowicz, "Zbiór źródeł do dziejów Krymu i krajów ościennych z archiwum seraju w Stambule," a review article to appear in *Studia Źródłoznawcze: Commentationes* 31 (1988).

[6] Žovti Vody, tributary of the Malyj Inhul (Inhulec'), right tributary of the Dniester. The Ukrainian name, meaning "Yellow Waters," is due to the color of the sand in the river bed and the environs (*Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, vol. 14 [Warsaw, 1895], p. 826). G. Veinstein, "L'occupation ottomane d'Očakov et le problème de la frontière lituano-tatare, 1538–1544," in *Passé turco-tatar, présent soviétique*, p. 142, fn. 64, cited the Turkish name of that river as *Sarısu* 'Yellow Water' (such names are always singular in Turkish, cf. *Yaş* 'Iaşi', Ukrainian plural *Jasy*), but was unable to locate it.

the campaign on May 29.[7] After the siege of Zbaraž, the Cossack-Tatar allies besieged Polish forces led by the Polish king, Jan Kazimierz, succeeded in trapping him in the castle of Zboriv, and, in mid-August, forced him to agree to their terms. This did not ensure peace, however. In 1650 Xmel'nyc'kyj started negotiations with the Porte to strengthen his position. In the following year a Cossack-Tatar campaign against the Commonwealth ended in an armed encounter with Polish forces near Berestečko 28–30 uune 1651 that had adverse results for the allies.

The Battle of Berestečko has been studied by Polish and Ukrainian historians since at least the end of the nineteenth century. Ludwik Kubala (1838–1918) first published an essay on the topic in 1880.[8] A year later a study by Julian Bartoszewicz (1821–1870) appeared.[9] Almost half a century later, the battle was analyzed by Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj (1866–1934) in his monumental *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy*,[10] which unfortunately ended with the year 1657. The works of the two Polish authors do not match the work of the Ukrainian scholar in terms of source basis and accuracy. However, they do provide details about the events in 1651 of importance for an appropriate understanding of two documents in the French edition.

As a result of the embassy from Xmel'nyc'kyj to the Porte and the travel of çavuş Osman to the Ukraine in 1650, the sultan Mehmed IV sent a letter to the Cossack hetman written in the first decade of Rebiyülevvel 1061 H./22 February–3 March 1651. This letter has been known to scholars since the middle of the last century, and has been published several times in various forms. While accepting with gratitude the hetman's assurances about his readiness to serve the Porte and not overlooking his warnings about threats from his enemies, the sultan informed Xmel'nyc'kyj that he had already written Khan Islam Gerey III an order to protect the Cossacks against the Commonwealth's encroachment. He assured the hetman that if he continued to be loyal to the Porte, the Porte would answer his

[7] Hadży Mehmed Senai z Krymu, *Historia chana Islam Gereja III*, the Turkish text of which I published, translated, and commented, with a supplementary historical commentary by Olgierd Górka and Zbigniew Wójcik (Warsaw, 1971), fol. 31v of the manuscript, p. 39 of the Turkish text, p. 118 of the Polish translation, fn. 389. (Alan Fisher, *Crimean Tatars* [Stanford, 1978], p. 239, refers to this work as one "edited by Olgierd Górka and Zbigniew Wójcik," without acknowledging me as editor.)

[8] L. Kubala, "Bitwa pod Beresteczkiem," in his *Szkice historyczne* (Lviv, 1880), p. 231–303.

[9] J. Bartoszewicz, "Bitwa pod Beresteczkiem 28–30 czerwca 1651 r.," in his *Dzieła*, vol. 10 (Cracow, 1881), pp. 257–72.

[10] M. Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy*, vol. 9, pt. 1: "Xmel'nyččyny roky 1650–1653" (Kiev, 1928); reprinted, New York, 1957, chap. 3: "Berestečko i bilocerkivs'kyj traktat 28.IX.1651," pp. 257–371.

plea for a formal treaty.[11] At the beginning of 1651 the Ukraine was indeed threatened by Polish troops, but Khan Islam Gerey III, despite the sultan's directives, was in no hurry to aid the Cossacks. Various circumstances influenced this, including the khan's own illness and that of the nureddin Gazi Gerey Sultan, a member of the khan's vanguard who fell ill during the march to the Ukraine and later was not eager to take on the Poles.[12] The war began to the allies' advantage in small skirmishes in early June near Dubno and Brody.[13] But the very first day of the major confrontation near Berestečko brought the victory of Polish forces over the Cossacks and the flight of Tatars from the battlefield. On the third day the khan withdrew three versts, and let the Cossacks know that he could help them no more; in the face of strong enemy fire he and his army had panicked.[14] The defeat of the Cossacks, now standing alone, was inevitable. The khan left behind a small number of Tatars, but resisted persuasions to return and resume the fight with the Poles.[15] Apart from the nureddin, who was the nephew of Islam Gerey III, two of the khan's brothers accompanied him on the campaign: Kalga Kırım Gerey Sultan and the young Murad Gerey Sultan.[16] According to Polish sources, on the third day of the battle a canonball hit the khan's leg and then decapitated one of his brothers—not the kalga, as a seventeenth-century Polish author maintains, because Kırım Gerey Sultan wrote to Moscow still on September 18, but Murad Gerey.[17] In view of the unexpectedly strong show of force by the Poles, the Tatars together with the

[11] Z. Abrahamowicz, *Katalog dokumentów tureckich: Dokumenty do dziejów Polski i krajów ościennych z lat 1455–1672* (Warsaw, 1959), no. 344, pp. 330–31 (register and bibliography of earlier editions). Also Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy*, 9, pt. 1, pp. 135–36, quotes fragments of this letter from an edition of 1897.

[12] Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy*, 9, pt. 1:216, 276.

[13] Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy*, 9, pt. 1:275–76.

[14] Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy*, 9, pt. 1:283–86.

[15] Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy*, 9, pt. 1:287.

[16] Kubala, "Bitwa pod Beresteczkiem," p. 264. Bartoszewicz, "Bitwa pod Beresteczkiem," pp. 259, 268.

[17] J. Pastorius, *Bellum Scythico-Cosacicum* (Gdańsk, 1652), p. 170, says: "Non eadem mens fortunave Chani Tartarorum fuit. Nam cum Otvinovius, Turcici Tartaricique sermonis apud Regem interpres, vexillum magnitudine et colore albo apud hostem eminens conspicatus, Chanum istic ipsum stare affirmaret, explosa Rege iubente machina, insignem Chano adstantem Tartarum equodejecit; ipsum vero Chanum ita adtonuit, ut mutato mox equo excedere moliretur campo." K. Szymanowski, *Kawaler polski* (n.p., 1651), p. 8, adds: "The sibling brother of the Tatar Ham [sic] was apparently beheaded on the battlefield." Therefore I assumed in my commentary to Senai, *Historia*, p. 153 (note 95 to the translation, on Kırım Gerey Sultan) that the kalga fell at Berestečko. Ostapchuk, who found evidence that the kalga was still alive in September 1651 (see Ostapchuk, "New Sources," p. 514, fn. 36), pointed out to me that this implies that Murad Gerey Sultan, another brother of Khan Islam Gerey III, was killed at Berestečko.

khan fled from the battlefield and turned a deaf ear to persuasions to return from Xmel'nyc'kyj, who was either kidnapped by the Tatars or rushed after them.[18] Islam Gerey III wrote to the Porte from Žyvotiv in the Ukraine, representing the battle as his great victory over the Poles. His envoy arrived in Istanbul on August 5, and on August 13 the Porte showered this embassy with great congratulations and gifts for the khan. When the Moldavian voivode Lupul informed the sultan about the real course of events, the Turks, reluctantly, believed the foreigner, enemy of both Tatars and Xmel'nyc'kyj.[19] Islam Gerey III, pursued by Polish troops, fled as far away as he could: he was back in the Crimea as early as July 28, the nureddin with him.[20] We can assume that the kalga also returned to the Crimea with the khan. Disappointed and abandoned by the Tatars, Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj finally had to accede to Polish demands, thus the Polish-Ukrainian agreement at Bila Cerkva of 28 September 1651.[21] The khan did not participate in its conclusion, of course; at the request of the Ukrainian hetman, on about August 15 he sent small reinforcements led by Karaş ağa, but himself remained on the border of the Crimea, in Perekop, i.e., Or and Ferah-Kerman of the Oriental sources, for two weeks (that is, until September).[22]

Having established that such was the course of events in the southeast of Europe from 1648 to 1651, we can proceed to analyze the two documents that the Parisian editors ascribed to 1649.

Document 1

E. 3005/2 (photostat on p. 176); "traduction intégrale" and a commentary on pp. 177–78). In response to a letter from Sultan Mehmed IV containing an order to provide help to the Cossack hetman, who had asked the Porte for such assistance, Khan Islam Gerey III informed the padishah that he had already sent his brother Murad Gerey Sultan to war with reinforcements (for the Cossacks) and was now waiting for news (from him) and was himself preparing to undertake a campaign. (The other contents of the letter are unimportant for us here.)

18 Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy*, 9, pt. 1:265–88.
19 Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy*, 9, pt. 1:288–89, 315–17.
20 Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy*, 9, pt. 1:315.
21 Its text is quoted in Ukrainian translation by Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy*, 9, pt. 1:365–67.
22 Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy*, 9, pt. 1:315.

The editors relate this letter to the second campaign of Islam Gerey III against Poland, i.e., to "probablement printemps-été 1649" or, more exactly, "mai-juin 1649." The same opinion was expressed by Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay who, a year before the volume under discussion appeared, published this document together with two others which, in her opinion, also dated from 1649. Her English translations of the documents is preceded not only by photostats, as in the Paris volume, but also by transcriptions.[23] The following can be noted here:

(1) The date when Islam Gerey III began his second campaign against Poland jointly with the Cossacks (29 May 1649) has been known since 1971, when Senai's *Historia* was published. Assuming that this letter comes from the period when the khan was preparing for this particular campaign, it should be dated not to "mai-juin" but to April or early May of 1649.

(2) Murad Gerey Sultan participated in the khan's campaign against Poland in 1649 and gloriously distinguished himself in it,[24] but nothing indicates that he then set out ahead of the khan to succor the Cossacks. Since we know from Polish sources and compilations that he also participated in the Battle of Berestečko, we should consider whether this letter does not actually date to 1651.

(3) This letter is a consequence of Xmel'nyc'kyj's submission under the protectorate of the Porte. In order to relate the letter to 1649, we must adhere to the position taken by Omeljan Pritsak in 1953 that the Porte's first agreement with the Cossacks was concluded in 1648.[25] But that position is not in keeping with the views of other Ukrainian and Polish historians.[26] The German historian Edgar Hösch also raised a number of points that challenge Pritsak's assumptions.[27] The strongest challenge are the words of Mehmed IV himself in the abovementioned letter of 1651 to Xmel'nyc'kyj, which has long been known: had the alliance between the Porte and the

23 Ch. Lemercier-Quelquejay, "Three Ottoman Documents Concerning Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 1, no. 3 (September 1977): 347–58.

24 Senai, *Historia*, fols. 35 and 40v of the manuscript; Turkish text pp. 43, 49, Polish translation pp. 121, 126.

25 O. Pritsak, "Das erste türkisch-ukrainische Bündnis (1648)," *Oriens* 6 (1953): 266–98.

26 Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy*, 9, pt. 1: 54, 61, writes about Xmel'nyc'kyj's vacillations between Muscovy and the Porte still in 1650, which, in view of the tsar's refusal to support the Cossacks, ended in the hetman's leaning to the Turkish side. M. Korduba also knows nothing about Xmel'nyc'kyj's alliance with the Porte in 1648 or in general before 1650 ("Bohdan Chmielnicki," in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 3 [1937], pp. 329–34), nor does I. Kryp''jakevyč, *Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj* (Kiev, 1954), pp. 124–57, or N. Polons'ka-Vasylenko, *Istorija Ukrajiny*, vol. 2 (Munich, 1976), pp. 18–21.

27 E. Hösch, "Der türkisch-kosakische Vertrag von 1648," *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte* (Berlin), 27 (1980): 233–48.

Ukrainian hetman been concluded already in 1648, the sultan would have promised to renew that agreement three years later—not to conclude a treaty in the future, and that only if Xmel'nyc'kyj's promises of loyalty to the Porte were confirmed.[28] The thesis about the Porte's alliance with the Zaporozhians already in 1648 can, therefore, in no way be maintained. Consequently, this letter cannot be related to the year 1649.

Taking into account these arguments as well as the state of affairs in 1651, we must assume that the letter of Islam Gerey III to the padishah under discussion comes from the time when a joint campaign with the Cossacks against Poland was being planned—a campaign which the Porte had ordered the khan to organize at the beginning of 1651 and which had its finale at Berestečko. That is, perhaps the letter dates from March 1651. Knowing that the khan had been preceded by the nureddin with about 16,000 Tatars,[29] we can assume that Murad Gerey Sultan was sent to the Ukraine with reinforcements for the Cossacks before March of that year; he undoubtedly led numerically more modest forces than the troops led by the nureddin. Our picture of events in the Ukraine at the beginning of 1651 thus becomes more complete.

Document 2

We now depart from the French volume to make our own analysis of the letter Khan Islam Gerey III wrote to the Porte from Žyvotiv.

Hruševs'kyj found the letter in an imperfect Polish translation or paraphrase of the seventeenth century, but nonetheless did not question its authenticity, adding merely: "although it is paraphrased, of course, for Polish readers (perhaps by one of the secretaries—Polish—of the hospodar [i.e., Lupul—Z. A.]) and the colors of the original were lost thereby." The item has the title: "A copy of the khan's letter to the grand vizier, with whom he sent his *kapedzilarhikaia* [i.e., *kapıcılar kâhyası*—Z. A.] from Žyvotiv; he arrived in Constantinople on August 5." Only a fragment of the beginning has survived from the khan's letter itself (which was apparently stylized as a *zafer-name* 'victory letter'): "We encountered the Polish army, which was besieged by Cossacks. Upon arriving at the destination, on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday [i.e., June 28–30—Z. A.], we

28 I argued this point with Professor Pritsak during my first visit to the United States in 1973, which I made at his invitation. He answered by saying that we would have to wait for more documents from Turkish sources found in searches conducted in Paris by Professor Bennigsen and his group. But Pritsak's thesis has not been confirmed even today, seventeen years after our conversation, and I do not expect it to be confirmed in the future. [See the editor's remarks following this article.]

29 Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy*, 9, pt. 1:216.

successfully fought with it. Now we are turning back; I charged the envoy with relating the and how and why." A section entitled "Relation to the vizier by the khan's envoy" follows, which Hruševs'kyj rendered in Ukrainian translation. To give a brief summary: after his arrival at the side of the Zaporozhian army, the khan did three days of battle with the Poles, "whom he strongly pressured." Then the Noġays stole horses from the Tatars of Dobrudža and fled with them to the [central] Ukraine; the khan rushed after them and found himself as far as Žyvotiv. Xmel'nyc'kyj came after him and pleaded that the khan not abandon him because the Poles would destroy his troops. Only a small handful of Tatars helped the Cossacks in the encounter with the Poles; they later moved with the khan [to the Crimea]. The khan also returned to the Cossack camp, but, seeing a great Polish force, he shrank from doing battle with them, but advised sending sallies into their country to disperse the Poles' forces and thus to facilitate their defeat. The Cossacks did not consent to his plan, so the khan, who had been forced to pursue the [Noġay] Tatars, became angry at the Cossacks and refused to return [to the Berestečko battlefield].[30]

From the way the battle is represented here, it seems that the Poles were first beaten by the Tatars alone and that Xmel'nyc'kyj proved powerless in face of these adversaries; it also seems that the withdrawal of the khan from Berestečko was caused by a small incident among the Tatars themselves. Supposedly he did not return to the field of battle against the Poles only because the Cossacks (or Xmel'nyc'kyj) had rejected his plan of action, which guaranteed success in the conflict with Poles, who were dangerous only en masse. The tendentiousness of such a picture of the campaign is obvious. In view of the representation of the state of affairs by Islam Gerey III, it is no wonder that the Porte, i.e., the sultan and the grand vizier Melek Ahmed Pasha (who held office from 6 August 1650 to 21 August 1651), congratulated the khan on a new victory over Poland.

Document 3

E. 3005/4 (photostat on p. 180; "traduction intégrale" and commentary on pp. 178–79, 181). This third letter of the khan to the Porte of 1651 is included in the French publication under discussion. The document was also published with an English translation by Lemercier-Quelquejay.[31]

30 Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy*, 9, pt. 1:288–89.

31 Lemercier-Quelquejay, "Three Documents," doc. 2; photostat on p. 352, transcription on pp. 351, 354; translation on pp. 353–54. In the transcription "savb-ï devlet erebine" (line 1), "mevğeviz" (line 2), and "Eṣerzā-i ḳażā" (line 10) should rather read, respectively: "savb-ï devlet avbına," "mevğ-h̆īz," and "iṣra zā-i ḳażā" (for the latter expression, cf. E. Wehr, *Arabisches Wörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1952), p. 4: "*iṯra* (Präposition) unmittelbar nach, nach"). For

Islam Gerey III reports to the grand vizier that "safety and security" reign in his country; then, without any introduction or explanation of the political situation, he proceeds to a description of the battle with the Poles, whose encamped supply train he attacked with [only] swords, capturing six or seven canons and cutting down five or six thousand infidels, although later his "rear guard troops experienced a moment of despair" (thus in the English translation; the *ürküntülük* of the Turkish text is better rendered in the French translation, by "panique"). The khan then left a certain number of Tatars with the Cossack hetman and returned to the Crimea. His well-rested detachments, which had remained [in the Crimea earlier during the campaign] to defend the country, he now immediately dispatched to the battlefield under the leadership of "Ferrāš" (actually *Karaş*) aġa,[32] together with the Noġays, and they did fierce battle with the Poles. When the hetman also attacked them, the Poles sent an envoy with a plea for mercy and then concluded an agreement along the lines of the [previous] agreement which they had concluded when [their] king had been [personally] besieged by the khan ("bu muḫlişleri ḳıral-ı bedḳavlı"—not "bedḳavlī"—"ḳapatdığımızda etdükleri 'ahidleri üzere muğeddeden 'ahd-u-yemīn edüp," i.e., not: "Leur roi de mauvaise foi, enfermé (dans le camp), prêta de nouveau serment et fit la promesse de respecter l'engagement qui'il avait pris jadis" or "Their faithless king [who had been entrenched in the camp] renewed his oath and gave the promise to keep the engagement formerly undertaken by him," as we read in these commented editions); the Tatar troops then returned to the Crimea with a huge booty. Later the Cossack hetman sent an embassy to the khan, thanked him for help in achieving his goal, and expressed his readiness to serve the padishah and the khan in the future. Soon thereafter Kalga Krım Gerey Sultan died and the khan appointed the previous nureddin in his place. (The letter ends with long phrases of courtesy.)

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the translation of the words "Lēh taburuna" on line 3, Lemercier-Quelquejay gives only "the entrenched camp (*tabur*)."

32 Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy*, 9, pt. 1:315, writes about this intended march to the Ukraine "by a man close to the kalga—Karaş aġa." The Arabic word *ferrāš* means "(1) (originally) 'one who lays mats, carpets, or cushions'; (2) (now) 'a sweeper or servant of a mosque' (the titular holders of this office at Mekka and Medina are high government functionaries, while the work is performed by underlings); (3) (Persia) 'a guard or servant of low grade, employed about a palace' (these servants are also executioners); (4) T. 'a dust-shovel'. -*Bashï* (Persia) 'a head sweeper and tent-pitcher; a chief jailer'," J. W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon* (Constantinople, 1890), p. 1371. A name as such is unknown in the Islamic world. But the Turkish *Ḳaraş* is understandable; it is a derivative from *ḳara* 'black' with the diminutive *-ş* suffix, as in the Turkish diminutive names *İbrāş* from *İbrāhīm*, *'Alīş* from Arabic *'Alī*, or *Memiş* from *Meḥmed.*

Both Bennigsen and Lemercier-Quelquejay think that the subject here is the battle of the Cossacks and Tatars with the Poles near Zboriv, which ended with the treaties of the two allies with the Polish king, that is, that this letter "doit être posterieur de peu au traité de Zborow" or "may be dated to the early autumn of 1649."[33] However, from my historical introduction it is clear that the letter comes from the period after the Battle of Berestečko. It must be examined more closely.

(1) At Zboriv Jan Kazimierz concluded two separate treaties, one with the Cossacks and one with the Tatars. Everything indicates, however, that the Poles concluded an agreement with the Cossacks alone, because the khan was already back in the Crimea. This Cossack-Polish agreement was, according to the khan's letter, consistent with the one that the Poles had earlier concluded (with the Cossacks, but also with the khan) when the king was besieged [not only by Cossacks, but also] by the khan. Only these last words of the letter can be related to the Zboriv situation of 1649; the new Polish-Cossack agreement referred to is merely the abovementioned Bila Cerkva agreement of 28 September 1651.

(2) Just as he did in his *zafer-name* written from Žyvotiv, the khan emphasizes here, too, his own contribution to the "victory" over the Poles at Berestečko, again to the disadvantage of Xmel'nyc'kyj and the Cossacks, whom he also blames for his final withdrawal from further battle with the Poles. In contrast to his first letter written from Žyvotiv, where we read about his withdrawal from battle as the result of tumults between the Noġays and the Bucak Tatars, the khan now admits *ürküntülük* 'panic' in his ranks, without saying, of course, that he experienced it personally, too. This detail can be referred only to 30 September 1651, the last day of fighting near Berestečko. We can also assume that the second letter containing the khan's story of the Berestečko events, generally as mendacious as the first one, came as a response to the reprimand the Porte must have given the khan after the hospodar of Moldavia exposed the mendacity of the account the khan sent to Istanbul from Žyvotiv.

(3) One argument for dating this letter to the period after the Battle of Berestečko is its news of the death of Kalga Kırım Gerey Sultan. He commanded the Tatar expedition against Poland in the fall of 1648 and to Moldavia in 1650; the cited Polish and Ukrainian sources and studies indicate him in the territory of the Commonwealth only as late as 1651. Following

33 Lemercier-Quelquejay, "Three Documents," p. 347.

these sources, in 1971 I accepted that he had perished from a Polish cannonball at Berestečko.[34]

During a meeting with Omeljan Pritsak in 1979, when I did not yet know the French volume discussed here, after acquainting myself with the khan's letter in question as edited by Lemercier-Quelquejay, I immediately stated that the letter speaks of the Battle of Berestečko. My host persuaded me to write about this, but I was outstripped in the undertaking by Victor Ostapchuk, who also referred the letter to the events of Berestečko, and who, in addition, pointed out that the kalga still wrote to Muscovy on 18 September 1651. Since the letter published by Lemercier-Quelquejay speaks about the Polish-Cossack agreement concluded ten days later (on 28 September 1651), we must now contemplate a more exact date for both the death of the kalga and for the letter itself. On 18 September 1651, Kalga Krım Gerey Sultan wrote to the tsar about the tribute expected from Muscovy.[35] This topic was broached again by the previous nureddin, now in the capacity of kalga, Gazi Gerey Sultan, in his letter to the tsar from the capital of the kalgas of Aqmescidsaray, written already in the year 1052 H. (which began on 14 December 1651).[36] It is obvious that Islam Gerey III responded from Žyvotiv to the Porte's reprimand—which must have been sent from Istanbul before the end of August—for his mendacious *zafer-name*, and that he responded immediately after receiving the news of the Polish-Cossack agreement of September 28. He credited himself with that agreement's conclusion, presenting it as a continuation of the situation between Poland and the Cossacks that had arisen thanks to his participation in the Cossack war against Poland in 1649 and in the treaty of Zboriv; he emphasized that this situation had developed after the Cossacks got Tatar reinforcements under the command of Karaş ağa. It is difficult to judge whether Kalga Krım Gerey Sultan died before or after the news of Xmel'nyc'kyj's agreement with the king at Bila Cerkva reached the Crimea (it must have reached Bağčesarayi probably in the first half of October). In any case, the khan could not have delayed long in informing the Porte about both events. Thus the letter in question must come from the second half of October 1651.

[34] Cf. fn. 17 above.

[35] V. V. Vel'jaminoff-Zernoff, *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de Khanat de Crimée* (St. Petersburg, 1864), no. 137, pp. 446–47.

[36] Vel'jaminoff-Zernoff, *Matériaux*, no. 142, pp. 455–56.

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Until October 30 the government in Istanbul was led by the grand vizier Siyavuş paşa, and then, for a full eight months, by the most paltry of the abovementioned trio of grand viziers, the decrepit Gürci Mehmed Pasha. It is difficult to determine which of the two received the second report of Islam Gerey III about events on the Polish front. Nothing is known about the reaction of the Porte to his second report. The Porte's reprimand after the khan's *zafer-name* from Žyvotiv must not have seemed threatening to Islam Gerey III, since he responded to it with the same self-confidence. His second report, in which he spoke about peace in the Crimea and the rich booty the Tatars brought from that expedition, despite some failures, and about how Xmel'nyc'kyj and the Cossacks continue to be ready to serve loyally the padishah and the khan, must have won him the appreciation of the viziers and Mehmed IV. Islam Gerey III, a man in his prime, basking in the glory of triumphs if not over Muscovy, then over the Circassians, Poland, and Moldavia, openly mocked the youngster on the Ottoman throne and his inept grand viziers. Of course, this had been the way of doing things for a long time, and the khan's two mendacious reports on a "victory" over the Poles at Berestečko we have examined here are merely a fresh contribution to this subject, which still awaits more complete study.

Cracow

Translated from Polish by Bohdan Struminsky

Editor's Remarks:
This article by my learned friend, Dr. Zygmunt Abrahamowicz, has stimulated me to make a new analysis of the existing sources and to present, in a more elaborate way, the problems of the reality or unreality of the Ottoman-Ukrainian treaty of 1648. My study will appear in a future issue of Harvard Ukrainian Studies.

Omeljan Pritsak

Stanisław Stempowski on his Participation in the Government of the Ukrainian People's Republic

ANDRZEJ CHOJNOWSKI

Negotiations conducted from the autumn of 1919 between the Polish government and representatives of the Ukrainian People's Republic resulted in the signing on 21 April 1920 of a political accord between allies. This convention, prepared in great haste, included recognition by the Polish side of the Directory of *Otaman* (Chief) Symon Petliura; it also determined the principles for delineating territorial boundaries between the two states. Point 6 allowed for the postponement of the regulation of the agrarian issue in the Ukraine until the calling of a Ukrainian constituent assembly. The political accord was accompanied by a military convention, signed on April 24, but planned economic and financial arrangements were never made.

In the course of the negotiations it was established that the Ukrainian government would include representatives of the Polish minority in the Ukraine, although this fact was not reflected in the texts of the signed accords. Originally, the Polish side insisted that there should be three such representatives, but ultimately it was agreed, instead, to give the portfolio of Minister of Agriculture to Stanisław Stempowski and to nominate Henryk Józewski as vice-minister in the Ministry of the Interior.

The activity of the two Poles in the Ukrainian government is a little-examined episode in the events of 1920. There is no monograph that thoroughly analyzes Polish-Ukrainian relations of that time.[1] A prime role in knowledge about the period is played by all sorts of published sources and memoirs, a domain in which Ukrainian historiography has decisively greater achievements.[2] Then, too, the existing literature is characterized more by vindictive and polemic overtones than by a willingness to treat events objectively.

The exact circumstances in which Józewski and Stempowski were assigned the role of Polish emissaries remain unknown. At any rate, they owed their selection in equal measure to activity in the Ukraine and to

[1] Cf. M. K. Dziewanowski, *Joseph Piłsudski: A European Federalist, 1918–1922* (Stanford, 1969); A. Friszke, "Ukraińska wojna," *Więź*, vol. 31 (March 1988); *Poland and Ukraine: Past and Present*, ed. P. J. Potichnyj (Edmonton and Toronto, 1980).

[2] The most important recent publication is T. Hunczak, *Ukraine and Poland in Documents, 1918–1922*, 2 vols. (New York, 1983).

intimate contacts with the group closest to Józef Piłsudski.

Henryk Józewski, born in Kiev in 1892, began his cooperation with the local socialist movement during the 1905–1907 revolution. In World War I he was the commander of the Third District of the Polish Military Organization, which included the Ukraine. After the failure of the Kiev expedition and the liquidation of the agencies of the Ukrainian Government in Poland, Józewski resigned from political life. He returned to politics after Piłsudski's May 1926 coup d'état. In 1928 he took over (for ten years) the office of voivode of Volhynia, where he became well known as the author of a precisely outlined, although utopian, policy which he himself described as an attempt at a resurrection of the "ideology of 1920."[3] He also played a leading role in negotiations conducted uninterruptedly from 1930 concerning the regulation of the legal situation of the Orthodox church in Poland.[4]

Certain aspects of his political activity were discussed by Józewski in his memoirs written after World War II (he died in 1981).[5] Their dominant impressionistic tone, and an unwillingness on the part of the author to reveal many specifics, reflected both Józewski's artistic personality (he was an avid and talented painter) and the fact that he never overcame the habits of an eternal conspirator. He devoted some twenty pages to "the episode of 1920," describing his participation in the creation of a Ukrainian administration in the conquered territories. He also related, in greater detail, the role he played jointly with Stanisław Stempowski, at the beginning of 1921, when they were compelled to hide, from the Polish authorities, Petliura and his family, who, as a result of the Treaty of Riga, lost their right of asylum in the Polish state.[6] It follows from Józewski's memoirs that he first met Stempowski in April 1920, when they both went on a mission to Kam''ianets'-Podil's'kyi (Kamieniec).[7]

The second Polish emmissary, Stanisław Stempowski (1870–1952) came from a gentry family which had settled in Podillia (Podole) in the eighteenth century. While studying at the University of Dorpat (1888–1892) he became acquainted with illegal socialist literature. It exerted such a strong impact on him that Stempowski founded a clandestine

[3] Cf. a valuable work on this subject: W. Mędrzecki, *Województwo wołyńskie 1921–1939: Elementy przemian cywilizacyjnych, społecznych i politycznych* (Wrocław, 1988).

[4] A valuable collection of documents from the Józewski files is to be found in the Department of Manuscripts of the Warsaw University Library (hereafter BUW).

[5] The memoirs were published in *Zeszyty Historyczne* (Paris), vols. 59 (1982), 60 (1982), 63 (1983).

[6] H. Józewski, "Zamiast pamiętnika," *Zeszyty Historyczne* 60 (1982): 113ff.

[7] Józewski wrote that he was ordered to go there by Piłsudski. Józewski, "Zamiast pamiętnika," p. 113.

democratic group (known as "Kuchnia," or "Kitchen") which conducted educational activity in a Marxist spirit. This underground activity resulted in many months spent in prison (1892–1893) and, subsequently, several years under police surveillance (1893–1897).

In 1897 Stempowski, together with his family, settled for a longer period in Warsaw, where he began to cooperate closely with Ludwik Krzywicki,[8] who became a close friend. The ideological influence of Krzywicki revealed itself fully in 1902, when Stempowski, together with Leon Niemyski[9] and Stanisław Posner,[10] began publishing the weekly *Ogniwo* (Link) which expressed pro-socialist sympathies as much as the censorship of the time allowed. It was also at this time that he met many outstanding members of the Polish Socialist Party, including Józef Piłsudski. It became customary that during passages through Warsaw, Piłsudski visited the home of Stempowski, which he regarded as "safe, and sometimes stayed until the night train to Petersburg."[11]

In December 1905 *Ogniwo* was closed down by the police, and Stempowski returned to Podillia, where he took over an estate in Vin'kivtsi (Winikowce) which had been bought by his father (Hubert Stempowski). There he spent, by his own words, the happiest twelve years of his life, filled with farming duties (the estate had been purchased in a dilapidated state), reflections on the state of the world, and a total absorption in family life. During his stay in Vin'kivtsi, Stempowski's attitude towards the Ukraine and the Ukrainian issue crystalized. That attitude was characterized by a dramatic contradiction between attachment to his home and a realistic estimate of the perspectives for Polishness there. "Running away from Podillia to Warsaw," he wrote in his memoirs, "I wished to find myself and to work among the Polish element, where there were no cursed national and religious differences and where the bloody phantoms of the past did not make their presence known. Now, by accepting my father's proposal to return to the land, I decided in my heart that there is but a slight percentage of Poles in Podillia, and that the country is and will be such as are its people, that the Poles can be only colonists-parasites as long as they do not merge their economic, cultural, social, and political activity with that people and its past, remaining, however, Poles and even accenting their Polishness, a fact which at one time will be utilized by history for the purpose

[8] Ludwik Krzywicki (1859–1941), an outstanding sociologist, economist, and ethnographer, one of the pioneers of Polish socialist thought.

[9] Leon Niemyski (1859–1928), industrialist, a social activist with pro-socialist sympathies.

[10] Stanisław Posner (1868–1930), lawyer, journalist, member of the Polish Socialist Party, a freemason.

[11] S. Stempowski, *Pamiętniki (1870–1914)* (Wrocław, 1953), p. 244.

of a truly fraternal coexistence of those nations and the elimination of the chasm that has been made between us by the colonizing, blind, and haughty policy of the lords, gentry, and magnates.''[12]

Holding steadfast to this somewhat paternalistic attitude, Stempowski became active in social affairs, first by influencing the attitudes of the local peasants, and then by becoming involved in the public life of the county and subsequently *guberniia* where he lived. He took part in the activities of the land offices, judges of the peace, and jurymen, and he participated in the election campaign to the First and Second Duma. After the outbreak of the war, he was a founder of the clandestine Polish Political Union (Polski Związek Polityczny) which centered around pro-independence intelligentsia who sympathized with the Piłsudski camp.

The revolution in Russia created conditions for the political activization of Poles in the Ukraine, especially when the Ukrainian Central Rada began to favor granting autonomy to the national minorities living in the country. In order to prevent the domination of Polish life by a nationalistically inclined national democracy movement, the Polish Political Union brought about the establishment, in July 1917, of the so-called Polish Democratic Center (Polska Centrala Demokratyczna) which consolidated progressive forces that supported an independent Ukraine within ethnographic boundaries.[13] Stempowski was chosen chairman of this organization, but from the very start black clouds loomed over him. In October 1917 Vin'kivtsi was totally plundered by groups of rebel soldiers from divisions of the Seventh and Eighth Armies that were returning from Bukovina. The Stempowski family moved to nearby Vinnytsia (Winnica), but this town, too, was unsafe, since in the course of the ensuing months its government changed several times. The family's endeavors, especially those of Maria, Stempowski's wife, were directed first at securing a livelihood, but Stempowski, despite deteriorating health (in 1916 he began suffering from a heart condition which he would endure until the end of his life), continued to take part in public life. After Vinnytsia was taken over by the Bolsheviks, he became the head of the so-called Supreme Polish Committee (Naczelny Komitet Polski), a representation composed of several persons, which was to defend the interests of the local Polish population vis-à-vis the new authorities. In November 1918 Stempowski went to Kiev as part of a Polish delegation from Vinnytsia (comprising representatives of socialist and

12 Stempowski, *Pamiętniki*, p. 303.

13 The term ethnographic Ukraine was understood in various ways within this milieu. It seems noteworthy that the honorary chairman of the Polish Democratic Center and its ideologue, Eugeniusz Starczewski, maintained that Poland must resign from her claims to Lviv.

democratic groups) which intended to negotiate with the central Ukrainian authorities on how to curtail the escalating Polish-Ukrainian conflict.[14]

Stempowski did not return from Kiev to Vinnytsia, but made his way to Poland, reaching Warsaw in January 1919 (his wife, and youngest son, Paweł, stayed in the Ukraine until August 1919). In the autumn Stempowski became an official of the Civil Administration of the Eastern Territories,[15] and in April 1920 he began his Ukrainian mission.

Participation in the Ukrainian government proved to be the zenith of Stempowski's political career. Originally, he received the post of Minister of Agriculture. The delicate and tense nature of the agrarian question in Polish-Ukrainian relations (to wit, the issue of Polish landed estates in the Ukraine) made it difficult for Stempowski to realize his projects. Regardless of his actual views (he had already made known his support for radical land reform), some regarded him as a defender of Polish landownership in the east.

Several other circumstances handicapped the mission—the rapidly changing military situation, the ongoing distrust in Polish-Ukrainian relations (intensified by steps taken by the Polish authorities), and conflicting opinions about an alliance with Poland within the Ukrainian camp. One should also keep in mind the personality of Stempowski, who was a sceptic by nature, more a philosopher than a politician well-versed in intrigues, a man who had the temperament of a social worker but at the same time suffered from illness and the loss of his family estate, and who painfully experienced separation from those closest to him.[16]

Despite all obstacles, Stempowski invested great activity in his difficult role. If one believes memoirs from that period, this was a time when "the slender fingers of this man held many of the threads of Polish-Ukrainian policy, mainly the unofficial one, the one behind the scenes, which, as politicians know all too well, is the most important one."[17] Unfortunately, how most of those issues were decided behind the scenes remains a mystery.

14 S. Stempowski, "Z pamiętnika," *Zeszyty Historyczne* 24 (1973): 122–23.

15 The Civil Administration of the Eastern Territories was a temporary office established by an order Piłsudski issued in April 1919. It had authority over lands occupied by Polish troops lying east of the borders of the former Kingdom of Poland. The commissar of the administration was Jerzy Osmołowski.

16 In the first half of 1919 and in general throughout 1920 Stempowski's only contact with his wife and sons was via correspondence.

17 J. Malaniuk, "Izaak Mazepa i Stanisław Stempowski," *Kultura* (Paris), 1962, no. 11, p. 104.

After the war ended with the signing of the Treaty of Riga, Stempowski settled down permanently in Warsaw. At the end of 1924, he became director of the library in the Ministry of Agriculture (a post which he held until 1939), and thereafter took active part in the work of the Institute of Social Economy (Instytut Gospodarstwa Społecznego), founded by Krzywicki. He carefully observed political processes within the reborn state and belonged to the elite of Polish Freemasonry, but shunned involvement in direct political activity.

To the very end, Stempowski was unable to find his place in the new reality. His homesickness made him seem to be, from the psychological point of view, an emigrant, which in turn facilitated his contacts with Ukrainian émigrés. His personality was also strongly influenced by the tragic death of his youngest son, Paweł (in the summer of 1920, from measles and dysentery). Experiences connected with this event brought about the break up of Stempowski's marriage (although he kept in contact with his wife).

An area that remained in the center of Stempowski's constant interests was national relations in the Polish state. At every juncture he opposed racial, national, and religious discrimination, and he became involved in the work of organizations which strove to liquidate the rift between the state and its non-Polish citizens (e.g., the Institute for Research of Nationality Affairs, or Instytut Badań Spraw Narodowościowych). During the 1930s Stempowski was an important figure in the milieu which established the *Polish-Ukrainian Bulletin* (*Biuletyn Polsko-Ukraiński*), the main forum for statements made by publicists and politicians belonging to the "Promethean" orientation. Like the majority of those espousing this orientation, Stempowski at that time espoused a pragmatic viewpoint: he supported the aspirations to independence of the Belorussians and Ukrainians, yet simultaneously remained in favor of the territorial status quo, seeking ways in which "a German, a Jew, a Ukrainian, etc., were to be made into loyal citizens of the Republic."[18]

Toward the end of his life, Stempowski began to write his memoirs; the final version was completed in 1940–1943. The manuscript survived the war, although certain destroyed segments Stempowski had to write anew.[19]

[18] BUW, MS 1548/II/14, S. Stempowski, "Uwagi nad memoriałem o mniejszościach narodowych" (1935), p. 4.

[19] What happened to Stempowski's memoirs during the war is not quite clear; M. Dąbrowska cites one version in her introduction to the Ossolineum edition of the memoirs (1953), while in her own diaries she mentions another. According to Dąbrowska, after the war Stempowski made two typewritten copies of his memoirs, while the Paris editor claims that he used the manuscript copy.

The first seven chapters, covering the 1870–1914 period, were published by the Ossolineum in 1953. The next three chapters, which in Poland encountered insurmountable censorship, were issued by the Instytut Literacki in Paris,[20] from a copy of the memoirs made by Stempowski for his son, Jerzy.[21] The copy is incomplete: apart from slight omissions, it ends when Stempowski accepted his post in the Civil Administration of the Eastern Territories. From the original text[22] it is apparent that the author intended to write about subsequent events, including his work in the Ukrainian government in 1920. For unknown reasons, he did not fulfill that intent. The narrative comes to a sudden end. To it, Stempowski merely addended copies of letters he wrote to his wife Maria in 1920. This material, prepared by Stempowski himself, is the basis of the excerpts published here.

Since in the course of making copies of his correspondence, Stempowski introduced certain changes as well as some mistakes, I compared the copies with the extant original versions of the letters, in order to reinstate their original form. Abbreviations made by the author were retained, since Stempowski in this fashion omitted information of an intimately personal nature.

Although the previously unknown sections of Stanisław Stempowski's memoirs and correspondence do not provide new information about the political aspect of Polish-Ukrainian contacts in 1920, they do convey much about the circumstances and atmosphere in which the government of the Ukrainian People's Republic functioned during this pivotal period; they also reveal the personal attitude with which the Polish emissary in this government performed his mission. One hopes that the publication of this material will encourage further investigation into the topic.

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20 Chap. 8 ("War. Pogrom. 1914–1917") in *Zeszyty Historyczne* 23 (1973); chap. 9 ("Winnica. 1917–1918") in *Zeszyty Historyczne* 24 (1973); chap. 10 ("Ukraine. 1919–1920") in *Zeszyty Historyczne* 21 (1972).

21 Jerzy Stempowski (1894–1969), essayist and literary critic (pen name, Paweł Hostowiec).

22 BUW, MS 1531.

Excerpts from the Memoirs of Stanisław Stempowski

Któregoś dnia w kwietniu 1920 r.[23] wezwał mnie do swego gabinetu (Swiętokrzyska 5) mój zwierzchnik, Naczelny Komisarz Ziem Wołynia i Frontu Podolskiego,[24] Antoni Minkiewicz[25] i oznajmił mi, że z polecenia Naczelnika Państwa mam złożyć mój dotychczasowy urząd, w Zarządzie Cywilnym (byłem kierownikiem wydziałów: politycznego, narodowościowego, wyznaniowego i prasowego) i jako osoba prywatna udać się w ciągu najbliższych dni do Kamieńca Podolskiego i wejść do rządu Ukraińskiej Republiki Ludowej, z którą rząd polski zawarł tylko co ugodę polityczną i wojskową, jako minister rolnictwa.

Na moje pełne zdumienia, nawet żartobliwe pytania, odpowiedział Minkiewicz, że o wszystkim dowiem się szczegółowo na naradzie, która z powodu mojej misji odbędzie się dziś wieczorem, tu w jego gabinecie, a tylko może mi dodać, że sprawa jest serio i nie cierpiąca zwłoki, że zwalnia mnie natychmiast i prosi o przekazanie spraw naczelnikowi wydziału sprawiedliwości, Poczętowskiemu[26] (który wnet po mnie z 4-ech wydziałów zrobił departament).

W osłupieniu zacząłem zbierać się do drogi, łamiąc sobie wciąż głowę nad tym, skąd na mnie właśnie spadło takie fantastyczne zadanie i kto to mnie mógł wsadzić w te improwizowane zapewne naprędce drożdże ukraińskie. Muszę wyznać, że ani na chwilę nie przyszło mi na myśl odmówienie się od tej eskapady—był to system Piłsudskiego, zaskakiwania ludzi poleceniami-rozkazami, których trudne wykonanie mogło podniecać ambicje, a awanturniczość pociągać swym romantyzmem. Podejrzewałem o wskazanie mnie jako ofiarę Minkiewicza, może Sławka,[27] który mnie znał z dawnych czasów pepesowskich, może Jota (Bromirskiego Józefa),[28] z którym wspólnie napisałem artykuł w "Gazecie Polskiej" o wyprawie na Ukrainę.[29] Wiedział zresztą o mnie i o moich ukraińskich robotach i sam Piłsudski, z którym znaliśmy się od 1898 roku.

23 The excerpt is from chapter 10 of the manuscript (from page 33).

24 The Civil Administration of Volhynia and the Podillian Front, created in January 1920, were formally subordinate to the commissar-general of the eastern territories, J. Osmołowski, but in reality enjoyed considerable autonomy.

25 Antoni Minkiewicz (1881–1920), a socialist and Piłsudskiite, born in Volhynia, studied at Kiev University. He was Minister of Supplies in the cabinets of J. Swierzyński, J. Moraczewski, and I. Paderewski (November 1918–November 1919).

26 Julian Poczętowski (1880–1938), born into a landowner's family in Volhynia, a graduate of Kiev University, a lawyer. In 1917 he co-founded the Polish Democratic Center in Kiev (which he represented in the Ukrainian Small Council). From 1918 he held various posts in the state administration in Poland.

27 Walery Sławek (1879–1939), a Piłsudskiite and Stempowski's countryman (born in Sytkivtsi [Sitkowice], in 1895 finished *gymnasium* in Nemyriv [Niemirów]). As an officer of the General Staff, he signed in April 1920 the Ukrainian-Polish Military Convention. In their memoirs neither Sławek nor Stempowski mentioned the circumstances in which they met.

28 Józef Bromirski (1865–1925), a graduate of Kiev University, a socialist, one of the leaders of the Polish political movement in the Ukraine. From 1919, he was an advisor to the Polish General Staff.

29 Probably Stempowski had in mind the article "Jeszcze o 'wyprawie' na Kijów," signed by Paweł Zaorski (*Gazeta Polska*, no. 296, 13 August 1919).

Robota na Ukrainie pociągała mnie, gdyż grunt i stosunki dobrze znałem, przybyłem stamtąd w styczniu 1919 r., w jesieni zaś jako dziennikarz przyłączyłem się do polskiej misji handlowej (pod przewodnictwem Jana Lipkowskiego),[30] jadącej do Kamieńca Podolskiego, gdzie podówczas przebywał ataman Petlura i rząd ukraiński. Poza tym czytając prasę polską widziałem zupełne niezrozumienie znaczenia dla Polski sprawy ukraińskiej, a z drugiej strony widziałem i błędy w stosunku do Polski ze strony rządów i partii ukraińskich (tradycje rosyjskie Dragomanowa i nienawiść Hałyczan). Toteż uśmiechała mi się możność. . . .[31]

Mój list z Kamieńca do Warszawy z 4 maja 1920[32]

. . . Pracy mam moc. Zaczęła się 2 maja, gdy zostałem powołany na ministra rolnictwa i o pierwszej w nocy odbyłem pierwsze posiedzenie rady ministrów pod przewodnictwem Petlury,[33] który zaraz wyjechał na front. Od tej chwili spędzam ranki w ministerjum na naradach z niedobitkami poprzednich pracowników i rozglądam się w materiale ludzkim, a popołudnia i wieczory na niestających naradach z ministrami. Gabinet jeszcze nie sformowany całkowicie, brak teki finansów, przemysłu i handlu, aprowizacji. Jutro wyjeżdżam do Winnicy w sprawie przeniesienia tam rządu na stałe lub przynajmniej na kilka miesięcy, dopóki sytuacja w Kijowie się nie wzmocni. Wrócę tu za kilka dni i dopiero wtedy wyjadę na stałe. . . . Ciężko mi bardzo i jestem okrutnie zmęczony, trzyma mnie na nogach już tylko mus. . . . Gazety, w których włóczą nami i plugawią, zbieraj skrzętnie, poproś o to Jurka. Jeżeli mnie będzie tu się osiedlić na lato, to was sprowadzę. Wiosna cudowna, tylko jej nic nie widzę.

Mój list z Winnicy z 7 maja 1920.[34]

. . . Wczoraj przyjechałem autem z Kamieńca. Jechałem przez Latyczów, gdzie widziałem świeże ślady walk.[35] Chodorscy[36] ocaleli, ale kryli się po chłopach, zupełnie zniszczeni, obdarci i napół przytomni. W Litynie stałem tylko 15 minut, ale było dość, żeby dowiedzieć się, że wszystkie trzy ciotki—Stanisława, Ewa i

[30] Józef Lipkowski (1863–1936), engineer, born in Podillia, an organizer of trade unions among farmworkers in the Ukraine. In 1919 he was vice-chairman of the State Mission for South-East Trade (Państwowa Misja Południowa-Wschodniego Handlu). The mission stayed in Kam''ianets'-Podil's'kyi (Kamieniec) at the turn of September 1919.

[31] Mykhailo Drahomanov (1841–1895), Ukrainian historian and political writer. The manuscript of the memoirs comes to an end at this point.

[32] A fragment of a letter to Maria Stempowska; the original is in BUW, MS 1493, p. 8.

[33] Formally, the Prime Minister of the Ukrainian government was still Isaak Mazepa (1884–1952). At the time Ukrainian politicians were sharply divided in their attitude toward the alliance Petliura made with Poland. Hence the changes in the government mentioned further on by Stempowski.

[34] Letter to M. Stempowska, BUW MS 1493, p. 9.

[35] Polish troops occupied Zhmerynka (Zmierzynka) and Vinnytsia (Winnica) on April 30, and on May 1 they seized the Stanislavchyk-Pysarivka-Kosakivka (Stanisławczyk-Pisarzówka-Kosakówka) line.

[36] The family of Władysław Chodorski, a physician from Liatychiv (Latyczów).

[37] Stanisława and Ewa Stempowska, sisters of the author's father; Stefania Stempowska de domo Bieńkiewicz, sister of the author's mother; died in 1918.

Stefania[37] —umarły w ciągu jednego tygodnia. List Jaremy[38] tędy przeznaczenia nie doszedł, zostawiłem go u Kwiecińskiej.[39] Punnicka[40] cały czas więziona była w Winnicy, dopiero 5 maja powróciła do Litynia, nie mogłem jej znaleźć. Marchlak Wit[41] działa i kazałem mu. . . jechać do Płoskirowa [Proskuriv], gdzie zobaczy się z Tadeuszem.[42] Bienieski[43] żyje. Gdy przejeżdżałem koło Twojego domu[44] wychodził kondukt pogrzebowy. Chowano syna Pacanowskiego, zabitego przez bolszewików i starego Pacana.[45] Stary zmarł ze zmartwienia. Nie masz tedy lokatorów. W Winnicy nie ma nikogo z dawnych znajomych, chodzę jak po cmentarzu—na szczęście nowa moja rola zabiera mi wszystek czas. Zarekwirowano dla mnie mieszkanie—dziwnym zbiegiem okoliczności ten sam pokoik (Romanowska 82), w którym mieszkałem przed dwoma laty po pogromie w Winikowcach. Ciocia Dedeskuł[46] żyje i podejmowała mnie wiekuistymi pierniczkami.

Mój list z Kamieńca z 9 maja 1920[47]

. . . Komunikacji z Winnicą nie ma żadnej, pociągi nie chodzą wcale, a nieregularnie—tylko wojskowe, przepustek nie dają. Wymodliłem dla siebie i dwóch ministrów Hughesem u naczelnika sztabu w Zmierzynce wagon 3 klasy, lokomotywę i platformę na automobil. I tak jechaliśmy do Płoskirowa 16 godzin, a w drodze wojskowi dwukrotnie usiłowali zabrać lokomotywę. Z okien widziałem, że dwór i zabudowania w Rażepach stoją całe. W Komarowcach przyleciał Szajka,[48] bardzo obdarty jak żebrak, już wiedział że zostałem ministrem i błagał o zajęcie. W Hucie, mówił, las cały i dęby w parku również. . . . W Płoskirowie spotkałem Tadeusza, wprawdzie w uniformie, ale już zniechęconego i podającego się do dymisji (wyrobiłem mu był stanowisko komisarza politycznego przy wojsku). Dziwny człowiek, zupełnie nie zdolny do żadnej pracy społeczenej. Powiedział mi, że dziś idzie końmi przez Deraźnię i Starą Hutę do Lityna. Na pytanie—po co tam jedzie, odburknał, że tęskni i nie może oprzeć się pokusie. Boję się, że zrobi jakieś głupstwo, za które będę musiał się wstydzić. . . . O sobie już Ci donoszę. Mam teraz ogromną pracę zupełnie mi nieznaną, jak z piasku skręcić biczyk. I w żadnym podręczniku nie mogę znaleźć jak być ministrem. Za trzy dni mamy w komplecie, cała rada ministrów nieustannie zasiadająca, wraz z głównym atamanem i całym aparatem urzędniczym przenieść się na stałe do Winnicy. Zdrów jestem, ale bardzo zmęczony i nieufny w swe siły, zupełnie osamotniony. Dziś byłem u

[38] Jeremi Stempowski, the author's cousin.
[39] This person is mentioned nowhere else in Stempowski's memoirs.
[40] Adela Punińska, physician, resident of Lityn.
[41] Wit Marchlewski, forester, resident of Lityn.
[42] Tadeusz Stempowski, the author's younger brother.
[43] Jan Bienieski, administrator of the estate in Huta that belonged to the Stempowski family.
[44] At the beginning of 1917 Stempowski purchased in his wife's name a house in the suburbs of Lityn, next to the highway to Vinnytsia.
[45] The Pacanowski family rented rooms in Maria Stempowska's house.
[46] The room at 42 Romanowska Street belonged to Walery Swederski, who lived there with his wife and his aunt, Miss Dedeskul.
[47] A letter to M. Stempowska, BUW MS 1493, p. 10.
[48] Szaja Kacenelson, a Jewish merchant.

Żebrowskich,[49] ażeby odrócić ich najście na mnie.... Starej powiedziałem, że jeśli chce, ażebym dłużej pozostawał w jej towarzystwie, to niech mówi o sprawach familijnych albo o kuchni. Każdy do mnie podchodzi albo w celu osobistego interesu, albo żeby mnie w mniej lub więcej uprzejmy sposób zelżyć. Kanalja ludzka! A w Radzie—samotność, bo St. Just[50] do niej nie należy.

Z Kamieńca 11 maja 1920[51]

...Ze zdumieniem widzę, że wybierasz się tutaj i to z Pawełkiem. Niewygoda, drożyzna, tyfus, ospa, konieczność mieszkania w miasteczku śmierdzącym. Mnie nic nie pomożecie, bo mnie już nic nie pomoże prócz śmierci. Zdrów jestem pomimo wszystko, tylko serce boli i spać nie mogę.... Coraz trudniej będzie się nam komunikować ze sobą, gdyż jutro z całym rządem ukraińskim wyjeżdżam do Winnicy na stałe. Tam już władz polskich nie ma, prócz wojskowych i oczywiście zarówno przejazd osób cywilnych, jak i korespondencja bardzo utrudniona. Nie rozumiem motywów, dla których chcesie się tu przedostawać. Jeżeli chcecie być ze mną, to w Winnicy będzie trudno, a zresztą i niewiadomo, na czym się to wszystko może skończyć.... Moim zdaniem powinniście zostawić mnie mojemu losowi, a sami ułożyć sobie tak życie, jak gdyby mnie na świecie nie było.... Trzeba poszukać koniecznie mieszkania i możności dla Pawła uczęszczania do uniwersytetu w Warszawie. Jeżeli przyjedziesz do Winnicy, to cóż będzie dalej? Zmordujecie się, narazicie na trud i choroby i znów powrócić będziecie musieli na tułaczkę po cudzych kątach w Warszawie. Winnica—to tylko epizod w moim życiu. Może za parę miesięcy trzeba będzie ruszać do Kijowa lub Odessy, a może i całkiem uciekać. Ziemia tu kołysze się jeszcze pod nogami i trudno przewidzieć dnia jutrzejszego. Wieś zagadkowo milczy i zaglądać tam nie radzę.

Z Kamieńca 11 maja 1920[52]

...Dziś rano wysłałem Ci list bardzo pesymistyczny, w którym odmawiałem Cię od przyjazdu do Winnicy, dokąd jutro jadę. Jeżeli chodzi o Wasz spokój, bezpieczeństwo i zdrowie, to oczywiście i teraz to samo powtórzę. Ale wiem, że macie jakiś dziwny sentyment do starych kątów, których właściwie już nie ma w rzeczywistości i chcecie się ostatecznie przekonać, że ten sentyment trzeba wypalić z duszy, gdyż nie odpowiada już niczemu realnemu, jest złudą bolesną jak ból w obciętej nodze. A może trochę żal Wam i mnie starego, posłanego, jak ongiś stary Żółkiewski, na zatracenie pod Cecorę. Ale cóż znajdziecie w Litynie? Ciotek już nie ma, znękana Punińska, zniszczona do szczętu willa Marchlaka, starą Bienieską na dokładkę.... A w Winnicy? Przecież nikogo już nie ma. Rzeczy nie ma, mieszkania również, życie—męka w zniszczonym i ogołoconym mieście. A o wsi nie ma co myśleć. Po cóż więc rosdrapywać stare rany? Niech się co prędzej pokryją błoną zapomnienia.... W tej chwili dowiaduję się, że Kijów wzięty i że

49 Stempowski met the Żebrowski family during his stay in Vinnytsia (1917–1918).

50 This person cannot be identified. Probably Stempowski, who liked to give his acquaintances pet names, referred to Henryk Józewski in this fashion.

51 Letter to M. Stempowska, BUW, MS 1493, p. 11.

52 Letter to M. Stempowska, BUW, MS 1493, p. 12.

wojska polskie są w Browarach za Dnieprem.[53] Wobec tego w Winnicy niedługo popasać będziemy.

Z Winnicy 18 maja 1920[54]

...Strasznie jestem zajęty, pracy nerwowej mam tyle, że spać nie mogę. Zaczęły się już walki wewnętrzne, które mnie zjadają. Tak ciężkiej sytuacji, w jakiej się znalazłem, nie przeczuwałem, nawet spodziewając się tu rzeczy najgorszych. O ile chcesz przyjechać, to uczyń to prędko, bo ziemia tu drży i na długo planów mieć niepodobna. Przywieź mydła prostego, herbaty, kakao, świec. Nie mam możności zająć się swoimi sprawami i Ty byś mi dużo pomogła i pokrzepiła na duchu. Czuję się zupełnie osamotniony i zaciekam się w jakiejś rozpaczliwej zawziętości. Ale trzeba być młodszym, żeby tak żyć.

Z Winnicy 23 maja 1920[55]

...Myślę właśnie nad tym, że ciężko mi będzie tak po studencku żyć, jak od miesiąca żyję: marnie śpię, źle się odżywiam po restauracjach, rano wychodzę z domu i wracam późnym wieczorem. Ze strachem myślę, co będzie, gdybym zachorował—pies bezdomny. Te myśli skłoniły mnie do przyjęcia propozycji St. Justa, że zamieszkam z nimi (są oboje z żoną[56] w tej chwili w Kijowie), będzie przy nim jeszcze sekretarz, a przy mnie Targoński.[57] Zajmujemy całe piętro w domu dr Wilińskiego.... Tutaj ma wkrótce przybyć poseł polski Woroniecki[58] i osiąść na stałe przy rządzie URL. Przybył już poseł z ramienia państwa Minkiewicza,[59] p. Tadeusz Zagórski[60] z całym biurem. Niebawem ma zawitać poseł węgierski. Winnica staje się stolicą. W tej chwili jest kryzys gabinetu. Podaliśmy się z premierem Mazepą do dymisji, która została przyjęta. Niektórzy już nie wrócą, właśnie premier. Co do mnie, to mam już zaproszenie do nowego gabinetu. Nigdy nie przypuszczałem, że w takie drożdże mnie wsadzą na starość.

Z Winnicy 29 maja 1920[61]

...Dziś chodziłem oglądać mieszkanie i wzruszył mnie widok Twojego drewnianego białego łóżka, na którym poznałem winikowiecki materac w niebieskie pasy. Tak samo ocalało łóżeczko Pawła z siatką drucianą i cała jego wyprawa (kubek, miednica, szafka), którą przed trzema laty wiozłem do Winnicy z Michałkiem Bondarem, siedzącym na szczycie. Stanęła mi w pamięci ta ostatnia podróż końmi, lasami przez Jóźwin z Pawełkiem. O sobie tyle tylko mogę donieść, że trzymam się jakoś, chociaż znowu miałem pleuryt, który przechodziłem i pozostał mi tylko męczący kaszel i trudności w mówieniu, a tyle mówić wciąż trzeba! Wczoraj odbył

53 Divisions of the Polish cavalry entered Kiev on the evening of May 7. The brewery was the site of bloody battles with the Bolshevik troops on May 10 and 11.

54 Letter to M. Stempowska, BUW, MS 1493, p. 14.

55 Letter to M. Stempowska, BUW, MS 1493, p. 15.

56 Probably Julia Józewska (see fn. 50).

57 Stanisław Targoński, social and political activist, resident of Kam''ianets'-Podil's'kyi.

58 Probably Michał Woroniecki; the circumstances of this nomination cannot be determined.

59 That is, on behalf of the Civil Administration of Volhynia and the Podillian Front.

60 Tadeusz Zagórski (1883–1934), a social activist in the Ukraine (born in Zhytomyr). In 1920 he headed the Nationalities Department in the Civil Administration of Volhynia.

61 Letter to M. Stempowska, BUW, MS 1493, p. 16.

się kryzys gabinetu, który podał się do dymisji, a dziś już znów jestem w nowym gabinecie.[62]

Niedziela 30 maja 1920[63]

Zanim zdążyłem list ten skończyć, już na skutek nadzwyczajnych kombinacji, w których niepoślednią rolę odegrala wizyta u mnie naszego Ksenofonta-bohatera, generała Omeljanowicza-Pawlenki,[64] musiałem dziś rano złożyć swoją dymisję i znów, wczoraj powołany, nie jestem ministrem—o ile dymisja zostanie przyjęta. Taki oto list (w języku ukraińskim) wysłałem do nowego premiera (Prokopowicza): "Doszły do mnie słuchy, że pewne koła polityczne zastanawiają się nad pytaniem, na ile pożądana jest moja obecność, jako Polaka, na stanowisku ministra rolnictwa, ze względu na możliwość wykorzystania tego przez bolszewicką agitację na szkodę Państwa Ukraińskiego. Jednocześnie dowiedziałem się wczoraj, że pewna partia polityczna (socjaldemokratyczna, do której należał Mazepa), postanowiła odwołać swych przedstawicieli z gabinetu (Liwickiego i Tymoszenkę),[65] jeżeli ja w nim zostanę. Ponieważ sprawa utworzenia zdolnego do pracy i cieszącego się popularnością gabinetu jest dziś pierwszorzędnej wagi, nie mogę dopuścić nawet myśli, aby moja osoba mogła stanąć na przeszkodzie utworzeniu takiego gabinetu. Dlatego uprzejmie proszę Pana, Panie Premierze, o zwolnienie mnie z obowiązku ministra rolnictwa w Pańskim gabinecie." Mam uczucie szkolarza, który za chwilę ma być puszczony na wakacje. Niestety, rozumiem, że wakacji tych mieć nie będę, gdyż czy to w roli ministra, czy też innej wypadnie mi tu pozostać dłużej.

Z Winnicy 3 czerwca 1920, Boże Ciało[66]

. . . Informacje o moim byłym szefie są przesadzone, chciałbym wiedzień czy nie od Poncza pochodza,[67] bo to by mnie bardzo zorientowało. Oczywiście nie mogę tu na nie zareagować i muszę odłożyć tę sprawę do chwili, aż będę mógł wpaść do Warszawy w interesach mojego nowego ministerjum zdrowia i opieki społecznej (z rolnictwa wysadził mnie przed kilku dniami Mazepa, za co mu jestem wdzięczny, ale czy Ukraina taką będzie?). Tutaj pozycja bardzo niepewna, Żydzi i urzędnicy-moskale prowadzą szaloną agitację przeciwko Polsce i Ukrainie, szerzą ciągłą panikę. Onegdaj kilka tysięcy jazdy bolszewickiej pod wodzą słynnego Budionnego uczyniło rajd głęboki aż ku kolei Koziatyń-Kijów spod Humania. Dotarli pod Turków (od Winnicy 25 km).[68] Nazajutrz miałem pełno pań i panów sprawdzających, czy nie uciekłem i czy się nie pakuję. Jestem jednak dobrej myśli i

62 According to Ukrainian sources, the government of Viacheslav Prokopovych (1881 – 1942) was constituted on May 25.

63 A subsequent part of the letter of May 29, BUW, MS 1493, p. 17.

64 An allusion to the so-called winter march of Ukrainian troops commanded by Ivan Omelianovych-Pavlenko (1881 – 1952).

65 Andrii Livyts'kyi (1879 – 1954), Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Mazepa government. Serhii Tymoshenko (1881 – 1950), Minister of Communications in the Mazepa government.

66 Letter to M. Stempowska, BUW, MS 1493, p. 18.

67 Poncz, Stanisław Posner. In an undated (May 1920) letter to Stanisław Stempowski, Maria Stempowska mentioned gossip on the subject "of your (former) superior"—probably A. Minkiewicz—which charged him with financial misdemeanors (BUW, MS 1567, p. 26).

68 Budienny's cavalry, having crossed the Don, began an offensive in the region of Koziatyn on May 29. The battle lasted until June 2, and both sides suffered great losses, but Budienny was unable to break through the Polish front line.

szczerze biorę się do roboty, która niestety jest dotąd więcej polityczna niż rzeczowa i nie z mojej winy z miejsca ruszyć nie może. Naogół skład nowego gabinetu dobry, czuję się w nim jak w domu i już wczoraj miałem dwie wielkie przemowy zasadnicze na plenum Rady, które dały zwycięstwo bronionej przeze mnie zasadzie. Dziś przenoszę się z Targońskim do nowego mieszkania w domu dr Wilińskiego, ale mamy prowadzić dom otwarty z wieczorami politycznymi. Dziś był tu Mantulak,[69] którego biorę do roboty. Opowiadał straszne rzeczy, które przeżył Lityn.

Z Winnicy 8 czerwca 1920[70]

. . . Jak wiesz, położenie moje tutaj osobiście polepszyło się, bo nie mam już takiej odpowiedzialności, ale publicznie—pogorszyło się, gdyż coraz mniej mogę czynić, a najgorsze—że czas mój i zapał i wiara w to, że plan mój wykonam—minęły. Rozbiły się o głupstwa, o marne, drobne, szare głupstewka. Czas minął i już moja fala nie wróci. To mi odbiera energię i spycha na ustroń, do roli widza. Trzymam się jeszcze na powierzchni, ale czuję, że nie promieniuję, nie przynoszę pożytku. Zaraz po przyjeździe zażądałem automobilu (jeszcze w Kamieńcu przed miesiącem) i chciałem objechać powiaty, pokazać się, wejść w ścisły, bezpośredni stosunek z chłopstwem, zbadać nastroje, kierunek ich wyczekiwań, rzucić pewne zapowiedzi. Błagałem nasze (tj. polskie) władze o danie mi tej możności—napróżno. Miałem jasny plan przed sobą.

Kartka z Podwołoczysk z 26 czerwca 1920 w powrotnej drodze z Warszawy po audiencji u Komendanta[71]

Korzystam z ostatniej skrzynki pocztowej polskiej, żeby Wam powiedzieć, że jadę zdrów i wyspany. Po drodze czytam napaści w prasie komunistycznej wiedeńskiej i innej na siebie. Zabawne wrażenie, gdy się dowiaduję z gazet, jakie są moje myśli i zamiary, o których nic nie wiedziałem.

Z Kamieńca 8 lipca 1920[72]

Od przyjazdu mojego nie szczęści mi się, bo i w ogóle nie ma szczęścia Ukraina. Wyprawa jazdy Budionnego na tyły naszych 2, 3 i 6 armii miała olbrzymie nie tylko strategiczne, ale i polityczne skutki, których doniosłość dotąd jeszcze trudno obliczyć. Najpierw spowodowała zanadto szybkie cofanie się naszych wojsk, które takiego cofania się nie wytrzymały. Podobno łatwiej iść naprzód, niż się cofać—młody żołnierz pomieszany z hallerowskimi przybłędami,[73] zniechęcany czesto głosami endeckich oficerów, nie chcących zrozumieć, po co przyszliśmy na Ukrainę i psujących lub sabotujących na każdym kroku polityczną robotę—nie wytrzymał i pierzchnął. Nastrój paniczny powiększa ludność miejscowa polska, którą w najgłupszy sposób zaangażowali nasi nacjonalistycznie zorientowani urzędnicy i

69 Mantulak, a resident of Lityn, an examining magistrate before the revolution.

70 Letter to M. Stempowska, BUW, MS 1493, p. 19.

71 Letter to M. Stempowska, BUW, MS 1493, p. 20. "Komendant" was the name given to Józef Piłsudski by his closest colleagues.

72 Letter to M. Stempowska, BUW, MS 1493, p. 22.

73 The term refers to soldiers from the Polish army organized in France by General Jozef Haller (who arrived in Poland in 1919). The officer corps was hostile towards Piłsudski and his policies.

ND-agitatorzy[74] w stronę orzełków i chorągiewek biało-aramantowych, akompromitowali a dziś muszą ciągnąć za sobą z odwiecznie zasiedziałych miejsc na niegościnną tułaczkę, wobec groźby zupełnej zagłady ze strony bolszewików. Istotnie to cofanie się ogołoci Ukrainę zupełnie z żywiołu polskiego. Widziałem w nieskończonych szeregach ciągnących dzień i noc na zachód furmanek takie postacie, które przetrwały wszystkie najazdy, a teraz nie mają odwagi zostać.

Chciałem pisać, ale w tej chwili ewakuują się ostatnie placówki polskie. Zostaję ze St. Justem sam wśród Ukraińców. Już tylko żeby ocalić honor, bo bez nadziei jakiejkolwiek pracy. Wieczorem wejdą już wojska Omeljanowicza-Pawlenki. Oczywiście postaram się umknąć w ostatniej chwili, o ile przed tą chwilą nie zginę. Odsyłam przez Zagórskiego mój kuferek z resztą rzeczy... zostawiłem tylko niezbędne....

Ze Stanisławowa 11 lipca 1920[75]

Wczoraj przybyłem razem z częścią rządu ukraińskiego tu wieczorem. Zdrów jestem i piszę na ulicy, żeby się uspokoić, bo o strasznych warunkach naszej ewakuacji—o klęsce Minkiewicza (zginęli z nim Józef Starorypiński, Bolesławski, Tadeusz Grocholski i wielu innych)[76] pewnie doszły przesadne wieści. Nic mi się nie stanie, ale dziś nie mogę opuścić towarzyszy niewoli i moja rola jeszcze nie skończona, niestety. Może nawet jestem potrzebniejszy, niż kiedykolwiek. Żal mi Ciebie, że dwóch synów musisz oddać ojczyźnie[77] i w tej chwili chciałbym być z Wami.

Z Tarnowa 17 VII 1920 (na Lipową ostatnia)[78]

Wkrótce wpadam na kilka dni do Was. Chciałbym zastać Ciebie i chłopców, którzy pewnie wkrótce nas opuszczą. Zmęczony jestem, ale zdrów. Może całkiem wrócę, o ile znajdę jakąś dla siebie robotę. Jesteśmy tu na czas nieokreślony zainstalowani w Tarnowie. Robić nie ma co.

Ze Stanisławowa 24 IX 1920, na Krakowskie Przedmieście po śmierci Pawła[79]

Pisałem do Krakowa, że jestem chory. Już mi o tyle lepiej z okiem, że jutro będę mógł wyjść z mieszkania. Wyjadę stąd pewnie w poniedziałek. Chciałbym bardzo w ciągu kilku dni zakończyć sprawę z przeniesieniem Pawlusia, o którym tu w samotności wciąż myślę i z którym nieustannie obcuję. Bo wypadnie mi albo powrócić zaraz do Kamieńca, albo wyjechać do Paryża, dokąd posyłają. Trzecia ewentualność byłaby—mój zupełny powrót do życia prywatnego.... Czuję się zupełnie złamanym i nie mam już energii. Wciąż myślę o tym, o czym zapomnieć nie mogę.

74 That is, National Democracy, a political orientation with nationalistic inclinations, which opposed the Kiev expedition initiated by Piłsudski.

75 Letter to M. Stempowska, BUW, MS 1493, p. 23.

76 Minkiewicz died as a result of a Bolshevik attack on the Proskuriv (Płoskirów)–Kam''ianets'-Podil's'kyi train.

77 During the deteriorating situation on the front, Stempowski's two older sons (Hubert and Jerzy) were drafted into the army.

78 Letter to M. Stempowska, BUW, MS 1493, p. 24. (In Warsaw Stempowska lived first at 7 Lipowa Street, and from August 1920 at 5 Krakowskie Przedmieście.)

79 Letter to M. Stempowska, BUW, MS 14493, p. 25.

Stanisławów 30 IX 1920[80]

Jadę z dnia na dzień i nie mogę wyjechać, gdyż nie ode mnie to zależy. Zaciągnął się kryzys ministerialny, od jego wyników zależy, czy zostanę nadal w rządzie, więc muszę czekać. Albo tedy wrócę już zupełnie, albo wrócę tylko na krótko, żeby swoje osobiste sprawy załatwić i jechać wraz z rządem na Ukrainę. Lada dzień już i nasze okolice będą przez nas zajęte, wszędzie witają nas jako wyzwolicieli. Perspektywy wielkie, o ile potrafimy wszystkie. . .[81] koniunktury wykorzystać. Boję się, że mój wewnętrzny stan duchowy zabarwia wszystko na czarno, tracę wiarę w konieczność mojego udziału, w owocność mojej męki. Złamany jestem zupełnie, nawet tego nie przeczuwałem, jak dalece nieobecność naszego ukochania wyjęła ze mnie wszelką chęć do życia. Obojętność przerywana strasznym bólem wspomnienia ostatnich dni. Uciekam wtedy w dni dawniejsze i znajduję ukojenie, a nawet smutną radość z obcowania ze wspomnieniami o Pawlusiu takim, jakim pozostanie na zawsze. Tyle szczęścia. Ale każde zestawienie teraźniejszości ze świadomością, że Go nie ma i nigdy nie będzie—straszliwa męka. Myślę wtedy jak Ty, moja najbiedniejsza Musiu, borykasz się ze swym ciężkim krzyżem. Tak mi Ciebie żal, tak mi żal. Że oboje cierpimy, nie zmniejsza to bólu, ale go podwaja.

Mam świadomość, że pokój istotnie jest bardzo bliski. Wszyscy wrócą do swoich zajęć, do nauki, do domu. . . . Może los się uśmiechnie i my znów zobaczymy rodzinne miejsca, gdzie stópki dzieci naszych deptały ścieżki—a jakże straszno o tym myśleć. . . . O nic nie pytam Ciebie, bo mi nie odpowiesz.

Tarnów 12 grudnia 1920, Hotel Bristol nr 19[82]

Widzę, że wpadłem w kaszę, z której niełatwo i nieprędko będę mógł się wydostać. Najwcześniej będę mógł przyjechać za jakiś tydzień. Spada na moje ministerjum właśnie ciężar zorganizowania pomocy uchodźcom. Dziś dano mi milionowe środki i muszę to puścić w ruch. Niech Jurek powie panu Henrykowi,[83] że dziś przybył tu spod Odessy były naczelnik sztabu strzelców siczowych. . .,[84] który cały czas przebywał wśród powstańców i przywiózł ważne wiadomości, z którymi odesłano go do Pawlenki. Sprowadzają się one do tego, że w tej chwili skupiają się wielkie siły, naprzeciwko Rumunii, a w całej Rosji i na całej Ukrainie, w Baszkirii i u Kirgizów zabierają konie i opracowuje się plan rzucenia 500.000 jazdy na Europę—aż do Paryża. "Swieczku jemu do samowo Pariża doniesiom, świetło budiet dniom i noczju"—jak mówił mi w 1895 r. w płoskirowskim klubie pijany pułkownik kozacki. Biedna Polska, śni o pokoju![85]

80 Letter to M. Stempowska, BUW, MS 1493, p. 28.

81 Indecipherable word.

82 Letter to M. Stempowska, BUW, MS 1493, p. 30.

83 Henryk Józewski.

84 Indecipherable name.

85 The memoirs include copies of two letters by Stempowski written in December 1922, concerning the assassination of President Gabriel Narutowicz.

REVIEW ARTICLES

Ukrainian Medieval Painting: The State of the Art

MICHAEL S. FLIER

UKRAJINS'KA IKONA XII–XVIII STOLIT'. By *Svjatoslav Hordyns'kyj.* Philadelphia: Providence Association, 1973.; THE UKRAINIAN ICON OF THE XIITH TO XVIIITH CENTURIES. By *Svjatoslav Hordyns'kyj.* Translated by *Walter Dushnyck.* Philadelphia: Providence Association, 1973. 212 pp.

UKRAJINS'KYJ SEREDN'OVIČNY ŽYVOPYS. By *Hryhorij Lohvyn, Lada Miljajeva,* and *Vira Svjencic'ka.* Kiev: Mystectvo, 1976. 29 pp., 109 plates. 10 karb. 64 kop.

The past decade and a half has witnessed the publication of a number of studies that attempt to document and make available to a wide spectrum of readers the works of Ukrainian medieval painting. In the West, Svjatoslav Hordyns'kyj published what he characterized as the first single volume devoted exclusively to the Ukrainian icon, an event that may have provoked the release of a long-completed Soviet counterpart, as well as an album of Ukrainian painting.[1] The trend continues in the 1980s with the revised German edition of Hordyns'kyj's work[2] and three studies of Ukrainian art covering the fourteenth to eighteenth century.[3] This recent interest in Ukrainian painting provides an appropriate occasion to assess studies of the Ukrainian icon, especially in regards to its place in the East Slavic Byzantine tradition as compared with the better-studied Russian tradition. The following discussion concerns the extent to which these recent publications, particularly those of Hordyns'kyj[4] and of

[1] P. Beletsky (Bilec'kyj) and L. Vladich, *Ukrainian Painting*, trans. Yu. Pamfilov (Leningrad: Aurora Art Publishers, 1976).

[2] *Die ukrainische Ikone 12. bis 18. Jahrhundert*, trans. Lidia Kaczurowsky Kriukow (Munich and Graz: Ukrainische Freie Universität, 1981).

[3] P. O. Bilec'kyj, *Ukrajins'ke mystectvo druhoji polovyny XVII–XVIII stolit'*, Narysy z istoriji ukrajins'koho mystectva (Kiev: Mystectvo, 1981); V. A. Ovsijčuk, *Ukrajins'ke mystectvo XIV–peršoji polovyny XVII stolittja*, Narysy z istoriji ukrajins'koho mystectva (Kiev: Mystectvo, 1985, "Žyvopys," pp. 113–78); V. A. Ovsijčuk, *Ukrajins'ke mystectvo druhoji polovyny XVI–peršoji polovyny XVII st.: Humanistyčni ta vyzvol'ni ideji* (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1985, "Žyvopys," pp. 41–71, 126–162).

[4] Unless otherwise noted, page references to Hordyns'kyj are to the English edition.

Lohvyn et al. (hereafter Lohvyn), have contributed to our understanding of Ukrainian iconography.

Both the Ukrainian and the Russian icon spring from the same transplanted Byzantine tradition properly called Rusian. Although art historians have attempted to localize stylistic and iconographic trends in the early period, the Rusian icon exhibits a fundamental unity, whether produced in the north or the south. In part this explains why in a number of instances it is difficult, if not impossible, to assign a Rusian icon definitively to Kiev, Novgorod, or the Suzdalian northeast.[5] The truly characteristic differences between the Ukrainian and Russian icon develop in the period following the Mongol invasion, and for this reason the distinct designations "Ukrainian" and "Russian" are more appropriately reserved for icons produced after 1300.

Hordyns'kyj and Lohvyn organize their books along similar lines. Both begin with a brief history of the status of the icon in medieval art and provide a technical discussion of icon production. A survey of the extant icons of the pre-Mongol period is followed by an account of the specific development of the Ukrainian icon and a select bibliography. Hordyns'kyj offers additional commentary about the fate of the Ukrainian icon under Polish and Soviet jurisdiction, and includes a separate section on the Lemkian and Transcarpathian icon. The introductory text in each book is followed by representations of Rusian icons (12th and 13th centuries) and Ukrainian icons (14th–16th centuries [Lohvyn], 14th–18th centuries [Hordyns'kyj]).

Hordyns'kyj and Lohvyn essentially concur on the broad lines of development of the Ukrainian icon. Following the physical and psychological devastation of the Mongol invasion, the first evidence of a revival of icon-painting in the south appeared in the western Ukraine: in Galicia and, to a lesser extent, Volhynia. The center for this activity appears to be Peremyšl' in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and Lviv in the sixteenth century. Both Hordyns'kyj and Lohvyn discern artistic continuity between the periods preceding and following the Mongol invasion. Such continuity can be seen in the Ukrainian painters' attempt to render the earlier severe style with its angular line, subdued color, and monumental proportion. But it is equally clear that the new age had brought with it different stylistic and conceptual approaches to the tradition. The slow penetration of a popular aesthetic introduced a less idealized, more human quality to the depiction of holy images. In some cases Hellenistic illusionism yielded to linear abstraction; bright colors appeared along with popular decorative motifs. Whether this shift was primarily due, as Lohvyn suggests, to the artist's attempt to appeal to the feeling of the masses is debatable; it might signal, at least in part, the consequences of utilizing folk artists in the absence of genuinely well-trained icon painters. One has only to recall the development of icon painting in Novgorod and Pskov to realize that parallel processes were also at

[5] Witness the uncertain attributions of such famous Rusian icons as the "Golden-haired Angel" (ca. 1150, Kiev?), "The Virgin Orans" [the Great Panagia] (early 12th c., Kiev or Jaroslavl'), "The Savior Not-Made-by-Hands" (ca. 1150–1200, Novgorod or Suzdalia), "The Ustjug Annunciation" (early 12th c., Ustjug, Novgorod, or Kiev.)

work in the north. The move towards greater expressiveness is interpreted by both Hordyns'kyj and Lohvyn as prompted by the need for Ukrainian artists and their patrons to assert ethnic pride in the face of external oppression, primarily Polish. The strongest impetus for the native direction in icon painting came from the brotherhoods, especially those based in Lviv, where resistance was felt most keenly by the sixteenth century. By contrast, the workshops of Peremyšl' revived the older, monumental images. From the fifteenth century on, the influence of Western colonizers, especially Germans, was felt in the superimposition of Gothic motifs and style onto Ukrainian Orthodox iconography: elongated oval faces, attributes of weaponry, Western garb with elaborate folds of drapery, architectural backgrounds, and Gothic inscriptions all result in a type of icon unknown in Russia. In the same period one begins to see a large number of icons devoted to the Last Judgment, with more attention paid to the depiction of the scorned and the oppressed, whose symbolic connection with the Ukrainian masses seems undeniable. Greater naturalism is also the expected product of increased contact with Polish culture in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the concomitant resurgence of Kiev as the center of Ukrainian culture. It was also during this period that numerous provincial centers of artistic production arose. The resulting use of Renaissance design and perspective along with Baroque composition and heightened dramatic effect eventually undermined the traditional Byzantine iconography and style, bringing the development of Ukrainian icon painting to an end.

The two volumes are complementary in their coverage of material. Hordyns'kyj includes 219 plates (many half-page in size), of which 24 are in color, while Lohvyn reproduces 109 full-page plates, all in color. Hordyns'kyj notes in the German edition of his work (p. 10) that Lohvyn's album contains 58 icons not included in his own, but adds that his book has approximately 100 icons not found in Lohvyn's. Despite the difference in quality of reproduction—the plates in Lohvyn's book are in general superior to those in Hordyn'skyj's—the two volumes taken together provide a broad perspective on the diversity of the Ukrainian icon over the course of its 500-year development.

Lohvyn provides more lengthy commentary on each icon than Hordyns'kyj, although both tend to characterize works in very general, descriptive terms. Hordyns'kyj's description of the characteristic traits of the Galician icon, for example, borders on the opaque. He notes (p. 14) its classic purity of style, perfect composition of figures within the limited confines of the panel, fine design, attempt at roundness of forms and rhythmical richness of lines, without ever defining what he means by "classic," "perfect," "fine," "rhythmical." Descriptions of this sort tend to become little more than exercises in hyperbole. Lohvyn indulges in occasional descriptive flights as well, analyses in which rhetoric replaces content. In the discussion about the Virgin of Volhynia from Luc'k (late 13th–14th century), for example, Lohvyn interprets the expression on her face rather freely (p. 9): "Чи не тому на обличчі богоматері стільки скорботи й прихованого докору, що ніби й від глядача вимагає ратного подвигу та самопожертви в ім'я батківщини?" In the commentary about a fifteenth- or sixteenth-century bipartite icon of the Annunciation and the Entry into Jerusalem Lohvyn waxes enthusiastic without much

substance (p. 15): "Лінійна ритміка, динамічний рух, бездоганне аранжування світлих вохристих, жовтогарячих і полум'яно-червоних барв захоплюють рідкісною красою й гармонією. Лінійний ритм силуетів, зборок одягу доведено до справжньої музикальності." Despite these analytic defects, both works present enough factual material to permit us to suggest a number of potentially fruitful areas of research in the field of Ukrainian icon studies.

The sources for specific formal devices unique to the Galician icon serve as an example. The Galician icon begins to show carved haloes in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but gradually introduces carved and gilded (or silvered) backgrounds with crisscrossed square and rhombic designs. Such background ornamentation is unique and may be viewed as the counterpart of the metallic covering (*riza*) typical for late medieval Russian and Balkan icons. Hordyns'kyj is quick to point out (p. 8) that the motivation for such ornamentation has less to do with the expense of metallic materials than the presence of highly skilled woodcarvers. We do well to recall, however, that the north had no shortage of artisans skilled in woodcarving, but did not develop this mode of design. The narrow frame of the Galician icon (approximately 1 inch) also distinguishes it from the Russian and Balkan frames that are typically two to three times wider. Another curious formal device only mentioned by Hordyns'kyj is the Ukrainian practice of limiting the miniature scenes (*klejma*) on hagiographical icons to the sides and bottom of the central panel, as opposed to the Russian tradition, which frames it on all sides.[6]

After reviewing the plates in both albums, one is also struck by the rich material that Ukrainian iconography offers for further study. In Galicia from the fifteenth to mid-seventeenth century, for example, the Mother of God is most often depicted as the Virgin Hodigitria rather than the Virgin Eleusa (e.g., the Virgin of Vladimir/Vyšhorod) and the Virgin of the Sign, so common in Russia. A unique representation of the Hodigitria type is to be found in the sixteenth-century Virgin of Florynka from Lemkian territory. The Mother of God is seated with the Child in an elliptical mandorla with four red triangles at the corners, an attribute usually reserved for Christ in Byzantine art. Hordyns'kyj states that such a representation is observed in Romanesque depictions of the Virgin and Child (p. 15), but with the attributes of the four Evangelists in the four corners. He suggests that the source for the Virgin of Florynka is the Ruthenian frescoes of the Holy Cross Chapel in the Wawel Cathedral of Cracow, but ignores the fact that the Evangelists' attributes,

[6] It is curious that an icon of St. Nicholas (Zarazskij/Zarajskij) painted in Kiev at the beginning of the fourteenth century and brought to Moscow has scenes from the saint's life on all four sides (Lohvyn, p. 9 and pl. 16), an indication that the limitations of scenes to the sides and bottom of the icon may very well be a Galician feature. But note that some Serbian icons also exhibit this limitation, cf. the icon of St. Stephen the King Uroš III and Scenes from His Life in Kurt Weitzmann et al., *The Icon* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982), p. 344. Of some relevance here is the hagiographic wooden icon of St. George (12th–13th century) from the Crimea, the earliest example from the south with scenes limited to the left and right sides (Lohvyn, pl. 9).

present in the Cracovian source, are absent in the Lemkian rendering. It is doubtful that such an omission is accidental.

Other interesting variants worthy of further investigation are presented by Hordyns'kyj without further comment. In Galician icons of the Mandilion Portrait (Savior Not-Made-By-Hands), for example, Christ may be flanked not only by the archangels Michael and Gabriel, as in the traditional Russian and Balkan representations, but by the archangels Uriel, bearer of fire and light, and Raphael, healer and curer of blindness. In a sixteenth-century Deësis from Polyana near Dobromyl (pl. 88; cf. 97) the archangels Michael and Gabriel, flanked by the Mother of God and John the Forerunner, stand behind Christ's throne, a remarkable departure from the traditional arrangement that finds the archangels flanking Mary and John. This arrangement seems to combine two images, that of Christ the Priest at the Last Supper (cf. the mosaics of the celebration of the Eucharist in the main apse and Christ the Priest over the eastern arch of the crossing in the Cathedral of the Holy Sophia in Kiev) and Christ the Judge, the center of the Deësis (cf. the Deësis mosaic over the Triumphal Arch of the Kiev Sophia). In both, the promise of life eternal is paramount, and a specific allusion to the Kievan source would be in keeping with the retrospective trend in the art of Peremyšl'. In a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century icon of the Trinity (pl. 153), we find the Novgorod or possibly Balkan-influenced representation of the Fatherhood (Father, Son, and Holy Spirit)[7] painted above the traditional Byzantine iconography of the three angels, a rare juxtaposition that may reflect the Roman Catholic–Orthodox rapprochement at the Union of Brest in 1596. Two other unusual iconographical features of this particular icon are the Mother of God and John the Forerunner flanking the Fatherhood as though part of a Deësis (cf. the previous discussion on combined images), and the addition of Abraham and Sarah *behind* the table, as opposed to the more traditional Russian depiction in which they serve the angels from the front. The placement behind the table is particularly common for Byzantine iconography in the Paleologuan period, and is found occasionally in Muscovite renditions of the Old Testament Trinity as well.[8] Iconographic blending may have been an artistic response to competing theologies, an attempt to strengthen the Orthodox message by clarifying the thematic connections between otherwise distinct images. Finally, an un-Orthodox seventeenth-century triple portrait of Christ (Hordyns'kyj, pl. 176) may demonstrate an attempt to rationalize the mystery of the Trinity itself. It depicts three faces in one head with three noses, three mouths, and four eyes, the left and right faces sharing the left and right eye of the central face, respectively, to emphasize the triune nature of God. These

[7] By the second half of the twelfth century, the Byzantine iconography of the Fatherhood can represent the Son as the mature Christ (as in the icon under discussion) or as Christ Emmanuel (more common in Russian iconography). See V. N. Lazarev, "Ob odnoj novgorodskoj ikone i eresi antitrinitariev," in *Kul'tura drevnej Rusi* [Voronin festschrift], ed. A. L. Mongajt (Moscow, 1966), pp. 101–112.

[8] See G. I. Vzdornov, "Novootkrytaja ikona 'Troicy' iz Troice-Sergievoji lavry i 'Troica' Andreja Rubleva," in *Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo. Khudožestvennaja kul'tura Moskvy i priležaščix k nei knjažestv. XIV–XVI vv.*, ed. O. I. Podobedova (Moscow, 1970), pp. 115–54.

and similar departures from the traditional Orthodox iconography require further study to determine their significance and possible sources.

Lohvyn fails to note that in addition to specifically popular details of decoration, facial types, and local color that are increasingly represented from the fifteenth century on, Ukrainian linguistic features are occasionally reflected in the icon inscriptions. For example, a fifteenth-century Elevation of the Cross from Zvyžnja with small scenes of other feasts (Lohvyn, pl. 40) contains a scene of the Entry into Jerusalem inscribed **ВОИХАНІЕ**. A fifteenth- to sixteenth-century Presentation of Christ (Lohvyn, pl. 73) bears the inscription **ȣСТРІТЕНИЕ**, and a fifteenth-century icon of St. Nicholas with scenes (Lohvyn, pl. 45) shows a scene of the Nativity of St. Nicholas with the inscription **РОЖЕСТВО**.

Notwithstanding the rich material presented by Hordyns'kyj and Lohvyn, we are obliged to note errors or questionable judgments in the works under review. In some cases, Hordyns'kyj has used the opportunity presented by the publication of the German edition of this work to correct mistakes in the earlier editions. Nonetheless, certain problems and errors remain. Emperor Constantine did not introduce Christianity as a state religion (Hordyns'kyj, p. 7); rather Christianity was tolerated after Constantine's conversion, but became the state religion only later, under Theodosius. The renowned Kievan artist Alimpij (Alipij) should be rendered in the Slavic form or in the modified Greek form Olympius, but not as Alepius (Hordyns'kyj, p. 9).[9] In the German edition Hordyns'kyj corrects the unfortunate earlier identification of Theophanes the Greek as Maximus the Greek (p. 16) and also suggests that Andrej Rublëv was influenced by Theophanes but was not his pupil, as Hordyns'kyj had said previously. Additionally one should mention that Archdeacon Paul of Aleppo traveled through Kiev in 1654, not 1655 (p. 20) or 1665 (p. 21). And the three fathers of the Eastern church noted by Hordyns'kyj (p. 17) are John Chrysostom, Basil the Great, and Gregory the *Theologian* (Nazianzus, 329–389), not Gregory the *Great* (ca. 540–604), a father of the Western church.

A question of attribution arises with respect to the early fifteenth-century icon of the Dormition from the village of Minsk-Mazowiecki near Lublin (Lohvyn, pls. 22–23). Lohvyn allows for the possibility (p. 13) that this icon was executed by followers of Master Andrej of Volhynia, who painted the frescoes of the palace Trinity Chapel in Lublin, or by the master himself while he was in Lublin. Lohvyn notes, however, that the painterly manner represented is similar to that of a Dormition from

[9] Some early icons often attributed to Alimpij and noted by Hordyns'kyj and Lohvyn have been ascribed more recently—albeit by Russian scholars—to Novgorod, e.g., the twelfth-century Ustjug Annunciation, or to Jaroslavl', the twelfth-century Great Panagia. In the case of the latter, the Virgin of the Sign is indeed a type more commonly associated with the north than the south. Recent books have assigned the Great Panagia a date between 1114 and the beginning of the thirteenth century (N. Salko, comp., *Živopis' Drevnej Rusi XI–načala XIII veka* [Leningrad: Xudožnik RSFSR, 1982], p. 229), or ca. 1218 (S. I. Maslenicyn, *Jaroslavskaja ikonopis'* [Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1983], pl. 5), during the reign of Prince Konstantin of Jaroslavl', son of Vsevolod III. Hordyns'kyj assigns the Great Panagia to Alimpij in the English edition (p. 10), but notes in the German edition (p. 16) that it is in all likelihood based on work by Alimpij.

the Kirillo-Belozerskij Monastery, thought to be the work of Andrej Rublëv or his followers. The Minsk-Mazowiecki icon is also claimed for Tver',[10] an attribution that Lohvyn has chosen to ignore without comment.

In a few cases the identifications offered by Hordyns'kyj are questionable. For example, the two icons of the Virgin Hodigitria presented in plates 127 and 128 are so different stylistically that it is difficult to accept his assignment of both to the sixteenth-century Galician painter Oleksij. But the value in having both Hordyns'kyj and Lohvyn at hand is seen in the possibility of juxtaposing Hordyns'kyj's icon of Christ from Serny near Javoriv (pl. 104) with Lohvyn's icon of SS. Paraskeva-Pjatnica and Nicholas (pl. 108), the faces of all three being nearly identical and clearly painted by the same sixteenth-century artist.

While the two volumes under review are problematic in their approach to analysis and interpretation, and in their occasional errors and omissions, both Hordyns'kyj and Lohvyn provide a pictorial overview of a half millennium of Ukrainian icon painting not to be found anywhere else in such compact form. This fact alone makes them indispensable for future work in this neglected part of the Ukrainian cultural heritage.

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10 See V. I. Antonova and N. E. Mneva, *Katalog drevnerusskij živopisi. Opyt istoriko-xudožestvennoj klassifikacii*, vol. 1: *XI–načalo XVI veka* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1963), pp. 235–36; and L. M. Evseeva, I. A. Kočetkov, and V. N. Sergeev, *Živopis' drevnej Tveri* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1983), pp. 29–30.

Galician Villagers and the Ukrainian National Movement

STEFAN KIENIEWICZ

GALICIAN VILLAGERS AND THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *John-Paul Himka*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988. 358 pp. $45.00.

The historiography of the peasant movement in Eastern Galicia has been enriched by a valuable new study. In 1983 the author, recipient of a grant from IREX, spent half a year in the archives of Lviv researching governorship records concerning the abolition of serfdom relations, indemnization, and disputes over easements (*servituty*). He supplemented his investigations in Vienna; he also made use of nineteenth-century statistical publications, Soviet source publications, and the Ukrainian press, and took into account the Polish literature on the subject. As a result he provides, in chapter 1, a competently treated outline of the history of serfdom in Galicia and its abolition in 1848, as well as a description of the struggle of peasants for easements in the 1850s. This section includes a comprehensive excursus, based on documents, of a conflict over easements in the village of Dobrotvir in 1872, which ended in military intervention and a court trial. One Dac'ko Xymka, who seems to have been the author's ancestor, was involved and arrested in that dispute.

Subsequently the book deals with the next stage in the history of Eastern Galician countryside, namely, with its being swept up in the Ukrainian national movement during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The author chose as his basic source the agrarian journal *Bat'kivščyna* published in Lviv in 1879–1896, initially edited by Julijan Romančuk and in 1889 temporarily by Myxajlo Pavlyk. This seems to have been a well-edited weekly which enjoyed considerable popularity in the second half of the 1880s, reaching a circulation of 1,500. Himka paid particular attention to letters from provinces published in the journal. In only two volumes (1884–1885) there were 281 letters coming from all the counties of Eastern Galicia. On this basis the author compiled a list of "activists" of the rural peasant movement, numbering 368 people: either authors of letters or active individuals mentioned. This number included 197 peasants, 53 priests, 18 cantors, 23 rural teachers, 34 town dwellers. The rest were indefinable or people who could be categorized in several groups at the same time. They were exclusively men. In comprehensive appendixes covering almost a quarter of the book, the author has provided an alphabetical list of the "activists" with whatever personal data he managed to collect.

The systematized contents of the letters gave the author a view of the development of the Ukrainian movement—not in its urban leadership, composed of intelligentsia and clergy, but in the countryside, in the remotest provincial corners. On that basis he reconstructed, in chapter 2, the forms of that movement in the mid-1880s, especially the establishment and functioning of rural reading clubs;

involvement in them and attitude (positive or negative) towards them of various groups in rural society, including communal authorities and clergy; relations between the Ukrainian countryside and foreign elements such as Jewish taverns, Polish manors, and political authorities. The third chapter contains a characterization of rural "notables"—parish priests, cantors, teachers—and defines the background of their antagonism with the bulk of rural population and the degree of their involvement in the national movement. Chapter 4 is entitled "The Awakening Peasantry," but mostly it is devoted to the relation of the Ukrainian countryside to landlords' manors, Jewish taverns, and communal self-government. One surprising statement made here is that the antagonism between the countryside and the manors weakened considerably in Eastern Galicia in the 1880s, in comparison with the period of the struggle against serfdom and disputes over easements, and that the conflict with Jewish tavernkeepers, leasehold sellers, and usurers took on much more drastic forms. The Jew in the Galician countryside was now not only the traditional middleman in the exploitation of peasants by magnates. He appeared in the countryside as a pioneer of a money economy which subjected the peasant to an economic slavery and sometimes expropriated his land and stock. (One should also note the role of Jews as managers of cottage industries, which also entailed the dependence of the peasants. Ivan Franko pointed to this phenomenon in his essays.)

The antisemitism of the Galician countryside had its roots in a distant past; what strikes one in Himka's book is the commonality and vehemence of this attitude. The memoirs of Polish peasant activists do not attribute such great intensity to the antisemitism of peasants in Western Galicia. We face a delicate problem here: how much can be concluded about the attitude of the whole rural population from a detailed analysis of letters from provinces in a few volumes of a peasant journal? The author does not hide (p. 80) that the editorial board of *Bat'kivščyna* retouched the letters, softening or eliminating anti-landlord and radical sentiments that exposed the editorial board to confiscation. Also, other peasant journals circulated in the Galician countryside: clerical, radical, Muscophile. What kinds of attitudes are evident in letters from the provinces that they published from the end of the nineteenth century to the turn of the new one? The picture of the Galician countryside reconstructed laboriously and not without talent by the author is very instructive, but it should be taken as a first approximation, pending the investigation of more material.

Another circumstance raises an objection: in chapter 1, writing about peasant movements during the revolution of 1848, the author readily cites the publication *Kljasova borot'ba seljanstva Sxidn'oji Halyčyny, 1772–1849: Dokumenty i materijaly* (published by "Naukova dumka," Kiev, 1974). Knowing the methods by which compilations of these kinds of documents are made, I warn against using them. The documents are probably authentic, but their selection is most certainly one-sided.

At the conclusion of his book (p. 218), the author acknowledges that the results of his research could be enriched by an analogous study of other peasant societies of Eastern Europe. I believe that this applies first of all to the nearest, Polish, countryside, and not only in Galicia. The author makes abundant use of the memoirs of a Polish peasant from the Tarnów area, Jan Słomka, determining on their basis the

conditions and attitude of the Galician peasant soon after the granting of land property. Another similar source is the memoirs of Professor Stanisław Pigoń (1885–1968), son of a peasant from the village of Kombornia (Sjanik/Sanok county), later an eminent historian of literature in Cracow.[1] Pigoń reconstructs a portrait of his native countryside towards the end of the nineteenth century with great precision and scholarly insight, showing what changed in it during the next half century.

Numerous passages in Himka's book beg for comparison with Polish material. Simultaneously with *Bat'kivščyna*, two peasant journals published by the Reverend Stojałowski, *Wieniec* and *Pszczółka*, circulated in the neighboring Polish countryside.[2] How similar were they to their Ukrainian counterparts? In the Polish Kingdom, under a much more severe Russian authority, Konrad Prószyński published a *Gazeta Świąteczna* for the common people from 1881; in 1904 its circulation surpassed 3,000, and it had many peasant correspondents.[3] The institution of reading clubs, with their great impact on the development of Ukrainian national consciousness, is known to us very well from the Poznań area, a province whose population included a million Poles. The People's Reading Club Society, one of several institutions supporting literacy in the Poznań area, had over 1,000 chapters at the beginning of the twentieth century.[4] The temperance battle had a good record in the Western Galician countryside already in the 1840s.[5] The demonstrative "funeral" of a bottle of vodka in the village of Kolodribka described on p. 126 was a custom borrowed from the West, where similar ceremonies were organized in many Latin parishes. The author would have found exact data on the 1909 abolition of the landlords' spirit monopoly (*propinacija*) in Galicia in the memoirs of Governor Michał Bobrzyński.[6] Several drastic examples of electoral abuses are cited on pp. 152–54 and it is true that the Galician "electoral sausage" won notoriety throughout the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. However, my recent examination of the papers of Tadeusz Rutowski, leader of Polish Democrats and deputy of long standing to the Diet in Lviv, confirms that these democrats practiced electoral corruption with the same lack of scruples as their conservative opponents.

The situation of the Ukrainian peasant movement differed very substantially from that of the Polish one in an important respect. Apart from all that the author correctly reveals (pp. 133–43) on the subject of frictions between the priest and the Ukrainian peasant, there is no denying that the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic clergy not only gave complete support to the peasant movement, but initiated and led it in its beginnings. The situation of the Polish peasant movement in Galicia was exactly the

1 S. Pigoń, *Z Komborni w świat*, 1st ed. (Cracow, 1946).

2 Cf. F. Kącki, *Ksiądz Stanisław Stojałowski* (Lviv, 1937).

3 Z. Kmiecik, *"Gazeta Świąteczna" za czasów redaktorstwa Konrada Prószyńskiego* (Warsaw, 1973).

4 W. Jakóbczyk, *Studia nad dziejami Wielkopolskie w XIX w.*, vol. 2 (Poznań, 1959), chap. 2; vol. 3 (Poznań, 1967), chap. 4.

5 S. Kieniewicz, *Ruch chłopski w Galicji w 1846 r.* (Wrocław, 1951), pp. 69–81.

6 M. Bobrzyński, *Z moich pamiętników* (Wrocław, 1957), chap. 8.

opposite (from the 1880s), as it was in the Polish Kingdom from the turn of the century. Latin bishops supported the landlords and issued pastoral letters against the peasantry, parish priests refused absolution to subscribers to the agrarian press, etc. The Polish peasant movement, born in a traditionally devout rural milieu, matured in difficult moral conflicts between the authority of the church and the imperative of class interest. The Ukrainian countryside did not know such painful experiences.

One important factor in the characterization of the attitude of the Ukrainian Greek-rite clergy in Galicia must not be overlooked (pp. 119ff.): the perennial rivalry of both Catholic rites. This entailed not only traditional discrimination against the "Uniate"[7] church in comparison with the Roman church, but also everyday frictions between rival parishes in ethnically mixed areas. Such "soul catching" consisted in dragging whole families, especially those of mixed marriages, now to the Latin and now to the Greek side. That constant strife, which obviously also had material consequences, included the political involvement of Ukrainian and Polish bishops.

Comparative reflections have made me digress from the topic at hand. Rather than point to any minor inaccuracies, I prefer to conclude by congratulating the author on a successful methodological experiment and for giving us a clear, suggestive picture of the East Galician countryside at the time when its national consciousness was awakening. I also encourage the author to continue and expand his study along comparative lines. How enormously fruitful such studies can be is shown by works well known to the author, by the Polish historian Józef Chlebowczyk and the Czech historian Miroslav Hroch.

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[7] I disagree with the author's statement that the terms "Uniate Church" and "Uniates" in any way "implied a certain inferiority vis-à-vis the real Roman Catholics" (p. 124). In any case this does not apply to the nineteenth century and to the Russian zone of occupation, where Polish society deeply and sincerely sympathized with the Uniates persecuted under the tsar.

The Chronicle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA)

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Litopys Ukrainskoi povstans'koi armii. Toronto: "Litopys UPA." Volumes 1 (rev. ed., 1978, 255 pp.), 2 (1977, 254 pp.), and 5 (1984, 309 pp.), *Volyn i Polissia: Nimets'ka okupatsiia*; Volumes 3 (1978, 272 pp.) and 4 (1979, 287 pp.), *Chornyi lis: Vydaniia komandy Stanyslavivs'koho taktychnoho vidtynka UPA*; Volumes 6 (1983, 253 pp.) and 7 (1983, 261 pp.), *UPA v svitli nimets'kykh dokumentiv*; Volumes 8 (1980, 319 pp.) and 9 (1982, 533 pp.), *Ukrains'ka Holovna vyzvol'na rada.*

Armed struggle plays a central role in the constitutive myth of nearly every nation. Ordinarily a single war for liberation is insufficient to sustain the national myth; each generation must write a new act in the drama of armed struggle. Despite the prominence of "revolution" in the formation of both the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, recent generations have attributed mythic importance to World War II, whether as the "last good war" for Americans or as the "Great Patriotic War" legitimizing the current Soviet elite. An armed struggle need not always end victoriously to become the inspiration of a generation. For the American South, the "Lost Cause" remained the central myth component for at least a century. For more than two centuries, Polish national consciousness has been stimulated rather than extinguished by an almost unbroken string of heroic defeats.

On this score the Ukrainian constitutive myth resembles the Polish. Even when a liberation struggle like Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi's was militarily victorious, it ended—at least for present-day nationalists—tragically. The generation of 1941, as many contributions to the *Litopys* demonstrate, was more intensely involved with the tantalizing memory of 1917–20, when Ukrainians had come close to making their independent state a going concern, only to lose it to partition and oppression. The generation attaining maturity during World War II set out to reverse this disaster. When it ultimately failed to restore the Ukrainian state, that generation added a new act to the national constitutive myth. The World War II history of armed resistance has dominated Ukrainian thinking ever since. Any historian approaching a massive work like the *Litopys* dedicated to reconstructing that struggle must, therefore, constantly bear in mind its inspirational, mythic elements as well as its "purely historical" aspects. The historian's duty is not easy, for, as the famous French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss points out, to analyze a myth is in some measure to dissolve it. On the other hand, outside observers and intimate participants alike can profit from a sober assessment of any crucial episode of the past, which at any moment could become the prelude for a new act in the drama of national struggle.

The ultimate way to assess the "realistic element" in a collection such as the *Litopys* is for historians and social scientists to use it in their own reconstructions of the past. This reviewer engaged in precisely such an effort, which in January 1990 produced a thoroughly reworked edition of *Ukrainian Nationalism* (Englewood, Colorado: Ukrainian Academic Press). This review, therefore, cannot pretend to assess the *Litopys* in any definitive manner, but only to indicate the scope of the work and to point out both its strengths and its limitations.

An obvious limitation, which the editors readily acknowledge, is the scarcity of official documentation in the narrow sense of the term. For national movements that have succeeded in establishing states, elaborate documentation of the decision-making process (e.g., in constitutional convention proceedings) is frequently available. The *output* of the putative Ukrainian state-building process in 1943–1944 is available (volumes 1 and 8) in the form of a structural ordinance and declarations of purpose by the UHVR (Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council). Fortunately, Ukrainian versions in the *Litopys* are substantiated and made available to a larger public by fairly accurate contemporary German translations. But, of course, the German observers were themselves subsequently defeated; some significant materials they had gathered on the process by which the UHVR was constituted may well have been lost.

Rather more documentary material is available in the form of propaganda statements, notably appeals to nationality elements in the Soviet army to join in resisting the Communist regime (which had considerable success). Another kind of documentary coverage useful to the outside analyst consists of lists of leaders of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) compiled by German intelligence sources, including *noms de guerre*, real names, and occasional biographical details (see especially volume 6, documents 27 and 29). The editors of the *Litopys* have verified and expanded these useful keys.

The largest body of strictly historical documentation consists of precise descriptions of UPA military actions and Soviet counterattacks. From the Ukrainian side such circumstantial accounts appear particularly in volume 8, pp. 165ff; volume 9, pp. 145–213, 272, and 417–65. For the period 1944–April 1945 German sources provide comparable details derived from completely different sources—direct observation by scouting expeditions like the Kirn force (volume 7, documents 33 and 62) and extensive interrogation of Soviet defectors and prisoners of war. The most concentrated presentation of interrogation material appears in volume 7, document 38, actually a composite derived from several German reports. Despite its 24-page length, this compilation is a selection from a much larger body of available interrogation reports touching on UPA and anti-UPA actions (for some not presented in the *Litopys*, see especially Armeeoberkommando 9 Abt. Ic, available from the U. S. National Archives as T 78, Roll 570). Taken together, the Ukrainian and the German source material now available could, if carefully collated, throw new light on the extent and efficacy of UPA activities during 1944–45. Although no German sources exist, of course, to corroborate Ukrainian accounts for April 1945–1950, it is possible that a comparable process of indirect corroboration could be undertaken through meticulous comparison of UPA documents to the extensive details the

Soviet series *Istoriia mist i sil Ukrains'koi RSR* provides on Stanyslaviv and adjoining regions during the late 1940s. To put the matter bluntly, there is work here to occupy a new generation of scholars, which, in my opinion, would be much more profitable than legalistic re-examinations of the role of the Ukraine in international law or details of the 1917 struggle.

In contrast to the strictly documentary materials just described, most of the Ukrainian-language items in the *Litopys* are more valuable for understanding the evolution of what participants term the ''national idea'' or what I have called the ''myth'' of national identity. To put the matter slightly differently, the second group of materials reflects the inner development of the national movement in contrast to its external manifestations. Although a significant number of these pieces are memoirs written in emigration, most were composed during the years of armed conflict and are, therefore, ''documentary'' in the sense that they provide direct evidence of thinking at various points in time. The longer, more systematic treatments do this explicitly. Thus M. V. Radovych (volume 8, pp. 61–94), writing in *Visnyk*, August 1945, compared the situation at that time to abortive earlier attempts to set up a Ukrainian state, concluding that what was needed was ''crystalization'' of the single ''healthy idea'' of a Ukrainian united, inclusive state (USSD). In many respects this emphasis on the determining factor of will reflected the guiding position of the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) led by Stephan Bandera. Indeed, many *Litopys* contributors emphasized the OUN-Bs role, while criticizing Bandera's Ukrainian nationalist competitors like the ''anarchist Borovets'' and the ''pro-German'' Mel'nyk (volume 2, p. 205). On the other hand, the piece by D. Shakhai in the same volume (pp. 203–252) suggests the considerable evolution that had been achieved by rejecting Dmytro Dontsov's extreme position on irreconcilable antagonism between Ukrainians and Russians. Such moderation did not, to be sure, preclude strong opposition to Russophile anti-Communists in Kharkiv and Kiev, or to the German-sponsored Vlasov forces. Nor did moderating trends terminate the bitter antagonism toward Poles (see below), although rather sketchy evidence does suggest that between 1941 and 1945 Ukrainian nationalists adopted a more positive attitude toward Jews. Basically, the question of dealing with non-Ukrainian minorities was almost hopelessly complicated by a rigid but inadequately examined premise that a future Ukrainian state must include all ''Ukrainian ethnographic territory,'' which seems to have meant all lands within frontiers determined by delineations between Ukrainian-speaking villages and other linguistic groups.

Considerably bulkier than the explicitly ideological articles are personal accounts of dramatic experiences. No doubt some of these will be useful (like the briefer, more factual accounts mentioned above) for historians trying to collate Ukrainian and German and Soviet data to determine the extent of UPA activities. It seems to me, though, that the prime value of these poignant personal statements is their reflection of conscious and unconscious attitudes of participants. Often this reflection is manifested as much by what is unsaid as by what is explicit. For example, the personal accounts in volume 2, dealing with 1943–1944 in Volhynia, make few references to religion *except* in women's accounts, although German police reports, unsympathetic to religious observance, suggest that many Ukrainian men

were privately devout. On the other hand, personal accounts for 1945–50 (in volumes 3 and 4 concerning guerillas in the Carpathian region) are permeated by references to religious services, such as those comparing the resurrection of the Ukraine to the resurrection of Christ.

The discussion so far has alluded to the significance of the German documents published in Volumes 6 and 7, but the subject deserves more intensive treatment. During about half of the period 1951–1954, when I was preparing the first edition of *Ukrainian Nationalism*, I worked as a research analyst for the War Documentation Project studying captured German documents. In the course of this work I examined most of the documents now published but then classified as "confidential." Since at that remote time, loyal Americans considered it to be a matter of honor to keep their promises not to reveal classified material, none of it was used in *Ukrainian Nationalism*, although many unclassified documents were cited. Nevertheless, my knowledge that such extensive German documentation existed enabled me to proceed to censored wartime newspaper publications and to oral informants with a degree of assurance I could not otherwise have had. The great virtue of the present extensive publication, prepared by Taras Hunczak, is that it will convince many others that the basic outline and overall significance of the Ukrainian armed struggle is fully substantiated.

Volumes 6 and 7 contain 134 documents totaling 354 pages of text, in addition to four maps, numerous illustrations, and facsimile reproductions of selected document passages. Two of the documents date to 1941, eleven to 1942, seventeen to 1943, seventy-nine to 1944, and thirty to 1945. I am deeply impressed not only by the immense labor Hunczak and his collaborators devoted to finding these German documents, but also by the meticulous care they took in the editorial process. Notes on Ukrainian personages, German abbreviations, and (for many) the Ukrainian and English summaries will be invaluable in future research. As for me, the fortunate coincidence that led Hunczak to publish his collection just before I became free to pursue the task of relating the declassified documents to my revision of *Ukrainian Nationalism* has saved me many hours of laborious search. There are, to be sure, some problems. Hunczak worked mainly with original copies, returned to Germany some years ago and now available in official archives in Koblenz and Freiburg/B. Most North Americans will find the microfilm copies in the U.S. National Archives more convenient, but the different classification system complicates cross-reference. So far I have been able, with the assistance of several cross-references Hunczak and his collaborators provide, to locate three-fourths of his items and to check a large majority word for word. Except for minor errors inevitable in such a large undertaking, Hunczak's texts are impeccable, as far as passages actually reproduced are concerned. My only substantive criticisms concern omissions, or, in a more general way, selection.

Let me qualify my last remark by emphasizing that *some* selection was unavoidable. In the archives, many important documents appear in slightly variant versions issued by different German offices. To have reproduced all versions would have been incredibly wasteful, for the precise wording of the texts is not crucial enough to warrant the kind of variorum edition appropriate for sacral or literary masterpieces.

Even prescinding from such questions of duplication, the extent of German documentation requires some discrimination in publication, as in the case of prisoner-of-war interrogations mentioned above. For my own purposes, I find certain additional selections on UPA activities originating in the Fourth Armored Army (4.Pz AOK, Ic, T 313, Roll 406), Army Rear Area Headquarters (Rückw. Hgb., T 78, Rolls 489 and 675), and some other military offices to be useful, but these are very minor additions. Superficially more significant—at first glance, even disturbing—was Hunczak's omission of an important passage at the end of document 22 (volume 6) reporting Ukrainian guerilla attacks on Poles, Czechs, and *Volksdeutsche* in Volhynia. However, considering Hunczak's reproduction of numerous passages reporting equally regrettable incidents of Polish-Ukrainian fratricide, I conclude that the omission arose from a simple oversight or, perhaps, from differences in the German texts he and I (T 454, Roll 15) used.

More significant is the selection of documents for the earlier phases of Ukrainian partisan activity, before the formation of the OUN-B version of the UPA. Generally Hunczak's publication of Sicherheitspolizei *Meldungen* is adequate, but additional selections for 1942 (notably for April 10, September 11, and October 16) would have made the movement from clandestine to overt anti-German activity more understandable. As it is, neither the German nor the Ukrainian documentation in the *Litopys* adequately reflects the hesitations and contradictions that marked OUN-B policy as well as the policies of other Ukrainian resistance groups. Similarly, use of documents emanating from Wehrmacht headquarters for the General Gouvernement (T 501, Roll 217) would have made formation of the SS Division "Galicia" appear to constitute more of an authentically nationalist Ukrainian move than it appears in the UPA documents published. My own view is that a very broad look at Ukrainian political developments during the war period is necessary to acquire an adequate perspective on the overt armed struggle waged by the UPA and directed by the UHVR. I recognize, however, that the editors of the *Litopys*, and Taras Hunczak specifically, took the position that, given the complexity of the total Ukrainian situation, it was preferable to concentrate on matters very directly affecting the UPA.

By their single-minded concentration, backed up by admirable diligence and great professional competence, the editors have produced a series which constitutes an indispensable data base for anyone interested in recent Ukrainian affairs, and one which will serve as a model for scholars trying to document other complicated aspects of East European history during World War II. The work has been not only a labor of devotion for the editors, but one which has obviously required considerable technical and financial support from broader elements of the Ukrainian community. One can only hope that the work will continue, and that scholarship will be enriched by more such fascinating materials.

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REVIEWS

"Die Anfänge Kievs (bis ca. 980) in archäologischer Sicht: Ein Forschungsbericht." By *Eduard Mühle. Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 35, no. 1 (1987): 80–101.

"Die topographisch-städtebauliche Entwicklung Kievs vom Ende des 10. bis zum Ende des 12. Jh. im Licht der archäologischen Forschungen." By *Eduard Mühle. Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 36, no. 3 (1988): 350–76.

The German historian Eduard Mühle (Wilhelm University, Münster) has published a series of interesting articles and reviews on the cities of Kievan Rus'.[1] His article on the early development of Kiev (before ca. 980) is highly regarded by both Western and Soviet specialists. In this article, surveying the archaeological evidence, Mühle reconsiders the views of Soviet scholars on the origins of the city of Kiev. His subject, sources, methodology, and principal conclusions are very close to those of the independent study by the Swedish archaeologist Johan Callmer (Lund University).[2] Both authors convincingly disprove the dating of Kiev's urban rise to as early as the late fifth or sixth century, advanced by Boris Rybakov and Petro P. Tolochko, that dominates recent Soviet scholarship. Mühle and Callmer argue that the group of settlements on the territory of Kiev were basically rural and relatively modest in size and significance prior to the end of the ninth century. Before this time, archaeological data on craft, trade, and administrative and religious functions in these settlements are too meager to prove the rise of urban life. In fact, the only settlement on Starokyivs'ka Hill was fortified probably between the eighth and the tenth century, while there is no evidence of fortifications in other settlements, including those on the Kyselivka and Lysa Hills. Furthermore, the stone structure discovered by V. Khvoika on Starokyivs'ka Hill in 1908, traditionally interpreted as a pre-tenth-century pagan sanctuary, has been shown in the light of new research to be a remnant of a tenth-century palatial building.

Like many Western scholars,[3] Mühle dates the transformation of pre-urban

[1] Eduard Mühle, "Gnezdovo—das alte Smolensk? Zur Deutung eines Siedlungskomplexes des ausgehenden 9. bis beginnenden 11. Jahrhunderts," in *Oldenburg—Wolin—Staraja Ladoga—Novgorod—Kiev: Handel und Handelsverbindungen im südlichen und östlichen Ostseeraum während des frühen Mittelalters* (Mainz and Frankfurt, 1988), pp. 358–410; see also Mühle's *Besprechungen, Chronik,* and *Anzeigen* in *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 36, no. 1 (1988): 102–104; no. 2: 303, 318–20; no. 3: 429–31, 478–80; and idem, "K voprosu o nachale Kieva," *Voprosy istorii*, 1989, no. 4, pp. 118–27.

[2] Johan Callmer, "The Archaeology of Kiev to the End of the Earliest Urban Phase," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* (hereafter *HUS*), 11, no. 3/4 (December 1987): 323–64.

[3] Omeljan Pritsak, *The Origin of Rus'* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), pp. 30–31, 210; Johan Callmer, "The Archaeology of Kiev ca. A.D. 500–1000: A Survey," *Figura*, n.s. 19 (Uppsala, 1981): 47–48; Norman Golb and Omeljan Pritsak, *Khazarian Hebrew Documents of the*

Kievan settlements into a large medieval city to the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth centuries. Their rapid growth became visible during this time. By the eleventh century these settlements had coalesced to form a unified urban territory centered on Starokyivs'ka Hill. Simultaneously, archaeological data indicate the intensive development of crafts and commercial contacts with the Muslim East, Byzantium, and Western Europe, as well as the concentration in Kiev of princely and military (*druzhyna*) elites and merchants.

The complex ethnic composition and growing social stratification of Kiev's population were reflected in contemporary burial rites and building patterns. Both Mühle and Callmer believe that the large group of emigrants from the northern woodland zone of Eastern Europe contributed to the city's rise. From the late ninth century they brought to Kiev the northern style of log buildings. Mühle assumes that the Lysa Hill settlement was founded by Prince Oleg, who seized Kiev commanding Varangian and northern Rus' troops, as related by the Primary Chronicle under the year 882. Employing solely archaeological sources, Callmer points to the presence of a Scandinavian elite and its retinue, as well as Oriental and Byzantine merchants and artisans among the predominant East Slavic population of early Kiev. He first draws a close analogy between tenth-century Kiev and contemporary large Khazarian cities along the Don and Donets' Rivers, as well as Cracow and Prague, and then makes a broader comparison to Dunab Bulgarian cities such as Preslav and Pliska. These comparisons show the relatively advanced development of Kiev during the tenth century.

Both Mühle and Callmer, like many archaeologists, date Kiev's earliest masonry edifices (palaces), constructed by Byzantine artists, from the mid-tenth century. Architectural historians, however, traditionally contend that masonry construction began in Kiev only after the baptism of Rus' in 988, when direct religious and cultural contacts between Rus' and Byzantium were established.[4] Archaeologists have discovered that the masonry palaces of tenth-century Kiev had wooden upper stories covered with plaster and frescoes. It is not known whether this combination of masonry and wooden building techniques was employed in the construction of contemporary Byzantine aristocratic palaces, because very scant remains of these palaces survive and the written sources do not provide adequate information.[5] However, the light wooden upper stories covered with clay or plaster, the richest of which were decorated with frescoes, were typical of both ordinary and wealthy stone urban houses in Byzantium, medieval Crimea, the Balkans, and Asia Minor.[6]

Tenth Century (Ithaca, N.Y. and London, 1982), pp. 44, 53, 55; Volodymyr I. Mezentsev, "The Emergence of the Podil and the Genesis of the City of Kiev: Problems of Dating," *HUS* 10, no. 1/2 (June 1986): 60–64.

[4] See, for example, Cyril A. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (New York, 1976), p. 324; Pavel A. Rappoport, *Zodchestvo drevnei Rusi* (Leningrad, 1986), pp. 16–17.

[5] Richard Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine and Architecture* (Harmondsworth, England, 1975), pp. 366–71; Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, p. 11.

[6] A. L. Iakobson, *Srednevekovyi Krym* (Moscow, 1964), pp. 87, 99; *Arkheologiia Ukrainskoi SSR*, vol. 3 (Kiev, 1986), pp. 544, 547.

Therefore, this style of masonry palace with a wooden upper story was probably brought to early Kiev from Byzantium, rather than being a feature of Kievan palatial building influenced by the wooden folk architecture of Rus'.

The second article by Mühle under review here surveys the archaeological evidence on the topography and urban construction of Kiev from the late tenth to the late twelfth century. He presents a detailed study of the churches, palaces, and fortifications erected by Princes Volodimer and Iaroslav. Mühle asserts that Kiev expanded territorially and demographically and continued to develop its defense systems (particularly in the Podil district and the Kopyriv End) until the mid-twelfth century. Callmer limits the intensive expansion of Kiev's area to the period between the late ninth and the late eleventh century.[7] An opinion also exists that territorial and demographic growth reached its maximum and the city's defense systems were completed in the mid-eleventh century. From that time Kiev's size stabilized, until the destruction of the city by the Mongols in 1240.[8] Also, the progressive weakening of Kiev's trade and masonry construction, and the loss of its political and military supremacy over Rus', are observable from the early twelfth century onwards and especially in the early thirteenth century.[9] Tolochko and Hlib Ivakin, however, maintain that throughout the entire pre-Mongol period (prior to ca. 1240) Kiev continuously expanded territorially and demographically and that its economy and culture were flourishing.[10] Thus, the important question of Kiev's development during the mid-eleventh to mid-thirteenth century (the period of the fragmentation of Kievan Rus') has given rise to a lively debate in current archaeological literature.

Mühle is justified in stating that Tolochko's estimates of the area of pre-Mongol Kiev at 360–380 hectares, and its population at 50,000, seem exaggerated. He does not, however, propose his own figures on the city's size, while Callmer has calculated only the area of Kiev prior to the early eleventh century.[11]

In this article Mühle presents his own interesting plan of Kiev in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, reproducing the city's districts, architecture, and sites of excavations. On the basis of recent discoveries, he has localized the fortification line of Kiev's central area—"Iaroslav's Town"—more precisely than the earlier

[7] Callmer, "Archaeology of Kiev to the End of the Earliest Urban Phase," p. 346.

[8] Volodymyr I. Mezentsev, "The Territorial and Demographic Development of Medieval Kiev and Other Major Cities of Rus': A Comparative Analysis Based on Recent Archaeological Research," *Russian Review* 48, no. 2 (April 1989): 146–60.

[9] Volodymyr I. Mezentsev, "Kiev and Other Major Cities of Pre-Mongol Rus': The Struggle for Supremacy." Paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Association of Slavists held at Laval University, Quebec City, 2–4 June 1989.

[10] Petro P. Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev* (Kiev, 1983), pp. 302–303, 304; Hlib Iu. Ivakin, *Kiev XIII–XV vekov* (Kiev, 1982), pp. 5–10.

[11] Callmer, "Archaeology of Kiev to the End of the Earliest Urban Phase," p. 346. For a critical analysis of Tolochko's estimates and revised figures on the area and population of pre-Mongol Kiev, see Carsten Goehrke, "Einwohnerzahl und Bevölkerungsdichte altrussischer Städte: Methodische Möglichkeiten und vorläufige Ergebnisse," *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte* 18 (1973): 25–53; Mezentsev, "Territorial and Demographic Development," pp. 150–60.

reconstructive plans of medieval Kiev published by Mikhail K. Karger, Mykhailo Iu. Braichevs'kyi, Tolochko, and other scholars.

Thus, both Mühle's articles under review represent a valuable contribution to the study of medieval Kiev and should stimulate discussion on the origin and development of the cities of Rus'.

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UKRAINIAN-JEWISH RELATIONS IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE. Edited by *Peter J. Potichnyj* and *Howard Aster*. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1988. 531 pp. $34.95.

This book is not just another scholarly treatise: its appearance is something of an event, the significance of which lies in the special nature of the "Ukrainian-Jewish problem." It is usually believed, and doubtless true to a degree, that Ukrainian-Jewish relations have been characterized, on the whole, by mutual incomprehension, ignorance, fear, prejudice, and by anti-Jewish violence. There are reasons why this should have been the case. The overwhelmingly peasant Ukrainian nation resented the urban and semi-urban (and so obviously "foreign") economic activity of Jews and believed that the Jews were allied with its social oppressors, the Polish gentry, while the Jews could not forget the sporadic but deadly violence associated with such Ukrainian national leaders as Khmel'nyts'kyi and Petliura. It is worthwhile emphasizing, in this connection, one important element that distinguishes Jewish-Ukrainian from Jewish-Polish and Jewish-Russian relations. So far as the Jews of Galicia and of the Pale of Settlement were concerned, only two "local" nations were worthy of respect and perhaps emulation—the Russians and the Poles. In modern times Polish and Russian culture proved highly attractive to the modernizing Jewish population. More and more Jews began to speak these languages, to send their children to Russian or Polish schools, and even to claim membership in the Polish or Russian nation. By the late 1930s most young Jews in Poland spoke Polish, and most young Jews in the Soviet Union spoke Russian.

This phenomenon of large-scale acculturation (which led among other things to the emergence of important Jewish-Polish and Jewish-Russian cultural figures) lent a clear multi-dimensional quality to relations between the Jewish minority and its Russian and Polish neighbors, a quality lacking in the case of Jewish-Ukrainian relations. Here, so it seemed, there were only negatives, with no offsetting positive aspects. Ukrainian nationalism was a relatively late arrival on the scene, and modern Ukrainian culture made little impact on the modernizing Jewish population. Moreover, the Ukrainians never gained long-term political control over the lands that they inhabited. The Ukrainian "cause," then, could never hope to achieve significant Jewish support, or perhaps even comprehension. This naturally angered

the Ukrainian nationalists, who came to regard the Jews as not only social oppressors, but as cultural and political allies of the national enemies of the Ukrainian people. Jewish-Ukrainian relations are similar to those between Jews and Belorussians with, however, at least two important differences. The Belorussian lands did not witness the waves of anti-Jewish violence in the Ukraine. Moreover, the very weakness of Belorussian nationalism when compared to the Ukrainian movement meant less friction with the Jewish population.

The apparently one-dimensional character of Jewish-Ukrainian relations is faithfully reflected in traditional historiography. At best, it sometimes seems, historians of Ukrainian Jewry have tended to forget about the existence of the Ukrainians, while historians of the Ukraine have forgotten about its Jewish inhabitants. At worst, accusations of oppression and murder are flung back and forth. Murder there has been, and also economic oppression (and cultural disdain) no doubt. But it is a great virtue of the book under review, a virtue that makes it a major historiographic event, that it probes beneath the surface and goes beyond the stereotypes to show us that there has been much more.

I cannot do justice in this review to the volume's numerous important articles, and hence must limit myself to noting several central themes. I have already mentioned the prevalence, over the ages, of anti-Jewish violence in the Ukraine, and the Jewish perception of the Ukrainians as, essentially, *pogromshchiki*. A number of articles in this collection, by Ukrainian scholars, re-examine this painful subject. Omeljan Pritsak, in a stimulating discussion of the Jewish role in the Kievan Rus' period in which he claims that "Kiev was founded as a stronghold by the Khazars in the first half of the ninth century," refutes the common belief that an anti-Jewish pogrom broke out in Kiev in 1113 (p. 12). It is amusing to discover that Shmuel Ettinger, only a dozen pages later (p. 24), cites the exact same source as evidence that such a pogrom did in fact take place. Several articles take up the awful events of the mid-seventeenth century. The bottom line of Jaroslaw Pelenski's learned article is that far fewer Jews were killed during the Khmel'nyts'kyi uprising than previously believed (at least by Jewish historians): "...on the basis of comparative analysis, I wish to suggest that the number of Jews killed in the Khmelnytsky revolution amounted to either a minimum of 6,000 to 7,000, one-tenth of the figure offered by Hanover, or to a maximum of 12,000 to 14,000, approximately one-fifth of the figure claimed by Hanover" (p. 35). Frank Sysyn eschews numerical estimates, but his judicious essay notes: "When the revolt broke out in 1648, accompanied by social warfare, the level of cruelty and butchery was tremendous on both the rebel and the government side of the struggle. It was amidst this general carnage that the tragedy of the Jews unfolded, and it is only in the context of this struggle that we can understand the massacres" (p. 50). Rather surprisingly, the book contains nothing on the 1881–82 pogroms (Pritsak has written an essay on this subject as well);[1] nor is there an article devoted to the year 1919 in the Russian Ukraine.

[1] O. Pritsak, "The Pogroms of 1881," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 11, no. 1/2 (June 1987): 8–43.

A second concern of this collection is to point out what has been too often ignored in the past—namely, that in the modern period, at least, Jews and Ukrainians did begin to interact in new and important ways. The emergence in the same place and around the same time of modern Ukrainian and modern Jewish nationalism and socialism created a new situation and new possibilities for Jewish-Ukrainian cooperation (although also for competition and hostility). This was particularly true of Zionism and Ukrainian nationalism. We are informed in this book of Vladimir Jabotinsky's positive attitude towards Ukrainian nationalism and of Ivan Franko's appreciation of Zionism. Roman Serbyn, Moshe Mishkinsky, Ivan Rudnytsky, and Yuri Boshyk throw much light on the dynamics of Jewish-Ukrainian interaction within the framework of the rapid growth of the new Jewish and Ukrainian politics in the pre-1917 period. During the years 1917–1920, with the breakdown of the old multinational empires and the establishment of short-lived Ukrainian entities both in the Western and the Eastern Ukraine, Jews and Ukrainians dealt with each other on a political level as never before—as is shown in the excellent articles by Mattityahu Minc and Jonathan Frankel. All of these articles demonstrate how the modernization and (at least temporary) democratization of the Ukrainian lands led inevitably to the establishment, or attempt to establish, new political relations between these two national groups, based on calculations of self-interest and predicated on the intention, unfortunately not realized, to create democratic, tolerant, pluralistic regimes in the Ukraine. It is a pity, in this connection, that there is nothing here on the complicated and fascinating situation in Eastern Galicia during 1918–1919, a new era in Jewish-Ukrainian relations opened up after the German-Austrian-Russian collapse in 1917–1918. On the other hand, we do have a sparkling *tour de force* by Geoff Eley, the well-known historian of modern Germany (and, I think, the only "outsider" in the roster of scholars represented here), who places the events in the Ukrainian lands during 1914–1923 in the broader, East European and general European context. There is also a fine study of Jewish-Ukrainian relations in the interwar Soviet Union by Mordechai Altshuler.

Another important arena of Jewish-Ukrainian interaction examined here is that of culture (in the broadest sense of the word). Two of the best articles in this section deal with the Ukrainian image in the new Jewish literature (Yisrael Bartal) and the Jewish image in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Ukrainian literature (George Grabowicz). We are also treated to studies of popular perceptions of Jews by Ukrainians (notably the well-documented study by John-Paul Himka on Galicia) and of Jewish perceptions of Ukrainians in the Soviet Union (a pioneering study by Zvi Gitelman).

Ukrainian-Jewish Relations concludes, as it must, with a section devoted to the years 1939–1945. On this subject, as perhaps on no other, Jewish and Ukrainian views have tended to be totally at odds. The traditional Jewish view has been to regard this period as the supreme tragedy of Jewish history—there is little or no inclination to consider the plight of other nations living under Nazism. Moreover, it is claimed, the destruction of Ukrainian Jewry, though planned and carried out by the Germans, was looked upon with considerable favor by the local population, which played a certain role in the mass murder. The events of 1941 on, then, are

seen as the logical culmination of 1648, 1881–82, and 1919. Aharon Weiss's sophisticated article rehearses this position (without, however, referring to Ukrainian-Jewish relations before World War I). He emphasizes the close ties between elements within the Ukrainian national camp and Nazi Germany, although he is also ready to point out that some heroic Ukrainians did save Jews, at great risk to their own lives. A different perspective is presented by Yaroslav Bilinsky, who sees the Ukrainians in this period as being basically victims, not collaborators—victims first of Stalinism, and then of Nazism. As far as the pogroms of 1941 in the Western Ukraine are concerned, they "comprise an extremely tragic but also very complex, confused and delicate subject, which needs to be thoroughly studied with the aid of documents and surviving witnesses, not by shoving everything onto alleged 'deep-seated' Ukrainian anti-Semitism" (p. 377). The author tries to show that, statistically speaking, the Ukrainians were less guilty of "wrongdoing" than were the Poles, the Russians, and the Balts.

The debate on the role played by local inhabitants of the area controlled by the Third Reich in the destruction of European Jewry is not going to disappear, and it is not resolved here. Moreover, as part of their claim that they, too, were victims, Ukrainians who lived under communism prior to the Nazi takeover have made the point that Jewish Bolsheviks, or Bolsheviks of Jewish origin, were themselves guilty of terrible crimes against the local population. In the "round-table discussion" appended to this book the intention to include this general subject ("The Jewish role in the Ukrainian famine and collectivization") in the debate infuriated Professor Ettinger, who went so far as to voice regret that the conference on which this book is based had taken place. I can understand his reaction (collectivization, after all, was Soviet policy, not Jewish policy), but I cannot agree with his expressions of regret. This book is not perfect. Scholars are also human beings, with their prejudices and loyalties. I have mentioned some of the lacunae, and I cannot ignore the very poor level of proofreading. Nonetheless, the editors should be congratulated. They have taken up an important subject, and they have shown the way forward.

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AN INTRODUCTION TO UKRAINIAN HISTORY. By *Nicholas L. Fr.-Chirovsky*. Vol. 1: *Ancient and Kievan-Galician Ukraine-Rus'*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1981. 347 pp. $19.95; Vol. 2: *The Lithuanian-Rus' Commonwealth, the Polish Domination, and the Cossack-Hetman State*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1984. 400 pp. $25.00. maps, illustrations, indices of names; Vol. 3: *Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Ukraine*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1986. 517 pp. $30.00.

The author introduces his three-volume work by stating in the introduction to volume 1 that the perception of the Ukraine in the West is both hazy and warped, somewhat because of the lack of English-language works on its history but largely because of conscious and successful efforts by Russians to suppress information on the multinational make-up of the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union. Because "there has not been enough time and space allocated to those nationalities, like the Ukrainians, Byeloruthenians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Gruzians, Azerbaidzhanians, Tartars and others," the author sets out "to write a rather short version of a Ukrainian history; a history of the second largest nationality in Europe" (1: ix). His trilogy is to serve as a textbook for persons living in "Anglo-Saxon countries," and to ensure that his readers "acquire a correct comprehension of the ethnical, national, racial, social, cultural and political developments and life processes" of one "of all those different ethnical and national groups and communities of Eastern Europe. . . ." (1: ix).

Professor Chirovsky argues that Ukrainians have always looked West, have consciously and selflessly defended Europe from Asiatic hordes, and have been indelibly shaped by "moving frontiers": ". . . the bondage of serfdom seems to have been less oppressive in Ukraine than in central and western Europe, where because there were no frontiers the serfs had no opportunity to escape. The serfs of Ukraine, therefore, were treated better by the feudal lords and gentry than were those of the neighboring countries. . . ." (1: 21). Ukrainians are characterized as being highly individualistic, because they were molded by "wide steppes, fertile soil, abundant space, and the remote Hellenic tradition" (1: 22), different from Russians, who lost all Slavic characteristics, and similar to Poles, who, after all, remain Slavic.

The three volumes constitute a synthesis of works on Ukrainian political history written, with few exceptions, before the 1950s; each chronological segment is broken into a discussion of "governmental structure, spiritual and cultural life, social structure and economic process" (2: xv). Unfortunately, that discussion does not help the reader see beyond a kaleidoscopic array of categories to comprehend either the people or the country. In volumes 1 and 2, even the treatment of economics, the author's speciality, is disappointing. For instance, the discussion of the class system in Kiev is based on Kliuchevsky and on J. Mavor's *Economic History of Russia*, published in London in 1914. In his analysis, Chirovsky says that the social and economic structure of the Kievan state can be described as a "specifically

Ukrainian, early commercial capitalism, combined with an agriculturally motivated appanage'' (1:273).

The text is replete with names and lists, the errors of Russian historians, and statements about the unity and solidarity of the Ukrainians, with no effort to reconcile the last with accounts of political upheaval, internecine strife, and invited foreign intervention. The Ukraine never conquered any territories, Chirovsky says; rather, some areas chose to join it. The following two statements are examples of confusing interpretations: ''Princess Mother Anna. . . devoted to the well-being of her sons, Danylo being three years old and Vasyl one year, called Andrew II of Hungary. . . to come and protect the rights of the two princes'' (1:166); ''Danylo resumed his active campaign to regain Galicia in 1230, still having been bitterly opposed by the pro-Hungarian factions of Galician boyardom. Although for tactical reasons he recognized the Hungarian protection, Bela IV, the new king of Hungary, yet supported Mykhailo of Chernihiv in the quest for the Galician throne'' (1:168). How is the reader to reconcile these statements with those on the solidarity of the Ukrainian people?

In volume 2 the index is limited to names only, the maps use a confusing and haphazard transliteration system, and nothing indicates whether illustrations reflect an artist's representations or the documented reality. Latin phrases are not translated (among them are *glaebae adscripti; domini vitae nicisque, personae miserables, ius Ruthenum, servi camerae*), making the story more difficult to follow for the general reader and student. The writing is often obtuse. For example, ''At the end of the tenth century, the *Rus'* realm was structured, although not yet fully completed as a political-constitutional entity, which was subject to evolution'' (1:186); or, ''The artisans constituted the bulk of the city population; the proletarians outnumbered the wealthy segment of the merchants. Moreover, there were actually two strata among craftsmen and artisans, guild members and those who were not members of guilds'' (2:339).

In the preface to the third volume, Chirovsky notes weaknesses pointed out by other reviewers of the first two volumes—lack of analysis and original scholarship—and dismisses them. His intent was not to write a scholarly book, he explains, but to write an introductory history of the Ukraine for general use. Let us look at the third volume, then, with that intent specifically in mind.

The volume covers the modern period and brings the reader to the 1980s. In the author's words, the last two centuries have featured ''a continuous and almost uninterrupted struggle of the Ukrainian people for their national and political, sovereign independence'' (3:xv). Chirovsky found this the easiest volume to write, not only because the source materials are ''ample,'' but because ''the modern era. . . is not entangled in any fundamental controversy, unlike, for example, the Kievan-*Rus'* period, which has been claimed by the Russians for political and imperialistic reasons without any truly scholarly basis for this claim'' (3:xvii). On the other hand, he is aware that ''while using the modern historical source material, one must be constantly on guard to discriminate between the historical facts of the recent past and the subjective opinions and subjective interpretations of these facts'' (3:xvii). Alas, the author has not succeeded in skirting that pitfall.

Bibliographic information, adequate in the first two volumes, is selective, arbitrary, and often dated in the third. Books available only in the Ukrainian original are sometimes cited in English. Because the history of the Ukraine is not linked to world history, the reader and student is not given a good frame of reference. The presentation is neither well written nor convincing. The focus on Russia shifts attention from the Ukraine to extraneous factors that affected but did not shape its development. The reader with no previous knowledge of Ukrainian history will find the polemical tone and the denials of other historical interpretations confusing, and the litany of heroes soporific. The linear development of Ukrainian history recounted here is as predictable as the diamat on the opposite side of a horseshoe. As a mantra, it can be reassuring to the initiated; but as a proselytizing text, it is inadequate. For instance, in discussing pre-World War I events in Galicia, Chirovsky says only that "the political upsurge in West Ukraine came about due to the activities of M. Drahomaniv, Ivan Franko—the second greatest Ukrainian literary figure after Shevchenko, and M. Pavlyk" (3:37). Community organizations are listed by name, with no characterization other than size. No attempt is made to describe what was specifically Ukrainian, for instance, in the Poltava zemstvo, how the system of economic cooperatives developed or what the relationship of the teacher was to the village. D. Dontsov and V. Doroshenko are described as the "two outstanding intellectuals and patriots of that time" (3:204). Valuev figures in the brief discussion of the tsarist conquest of Galicia, followed by note of the Rasputin scandal and "his magical influence over the imperial family" (3:206). But there is no mention of Ukrainian communists, no reference to Ukrainian women, and no comprehensive discussion of Nazi policies toward the Ukraine.

Some interpretations presented here are downright troubling. The linking of the UPA with the cultural renaissance in the Soviet Ukraine in the 1960s is irresponsible, and presenting "the Great Exodus," Chirovsky's term for the post–World War II emigration, as the dynamic force of modern Ukraine is surely far-fetched. Noting the establishment of chairs in Ukrainian studies at Harvard and Toronto, Chirovsky comments that "since [their occupants] tried to keep up-to-date with so-called scholarship in the Ukrainian SSR, the scholarly work of all three chairs left a great deal to be desired. Consequently, in some ways these chairs hurt rather than helped Ukrainian scholarship" (3:349–50).

The discussion of the economy, even though based on out-of-date data, is the most welcome part of volume 3. It provides a historical overview of the economic policies and legislation of the Communist state in the Ukraine. The discussion of law is both perfunctory and confusing, since one is never clear what is Ukrainian and what is Russian. The discussion of art, literature, and architecture is essentially a listing of the author's personal preferences.

The third volume, like the first two, is sloppily edited. Typographical errors occur even in the list of illustrations, e.g., "Colonel Andriu Melnyk" (3:xiii). In the text we come across "*Ukrainka Povstanka Armia*," "Dnytro Dontsov," "*Kaminiar*." No attempt is made to provide a context for the term *intellihentsia*, which is used for various disparate groups. Nor is the reader told what an "Uniat" is. There is an index of names, but not of subjects.

Professor Chirovsky seems unaware of the internal contradictions that emerge from his presentation. Instead of grappling with real issues, he argues with Russian historians, when not citing them to support his own statements. The result is a confusing study, full of generalities and trite statements. It does not capture the reader's interest, challenge his intelligence, or spark further study.

The volumes are nicely bound and printed on good quality paper. They will have a long shelf life, but I question who will use them. These three volumes are not the short, useful introduction to the history of the Ukraine awaited by the student and the general reader.

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RINASCIMENTO LETTERARIO ITALIANO E MONDO SLAVO: RASSEGNA DEGLI STUDI DELL'ULTIMO DOPOGUERRA. Edited by *Sante Graciotti* and *Emanuela Sgambati*. Rome: Comitato Italiano dell'Associazione/Internazionale per lo Studio e la Diffusione dell Culture Slave, 1986. 157 pp.

This book contains a number of papers delivered at an international conference held in Rome in October 1981 at the initiative of the Italian Committee of the International Association for the Study and Diffusion of Slavic Cultures. The common thread that binds the various presentations is a critical examination of the studies published in the postwar period up to 1982 on cultural and literary relations between the Italian Renaissance and the Slavic world. The essays here included review the studies published in each of the countries discussed, as well as in Italy and, to the extent that cultural relations involving Poland are concerned, in other Western countries.

The book covers the literatures of three Slavic nations—namely, the Polish, the Croatian, and the Czech—in terms of their relationship with Italian Renaissance literature. One lacuna, among others, is a review of studies published in the Soviet Union, unavailable at either the conference or at press time. Such a lacuna is, in the words of one of the editors, "sensibile, nonostante il fatto che gli Slavi Orientali non abbiano avuto un loro autonomo Umanesimo e Rinascimento...";[1] however, it "può essere colmata...con il ricorso alla...edizione...dell'opera di I. N. Goleniščev-Kutuzov, *Il Rinascimento italiano e le letterature slave dei secoli XV e XVI*...."[2] On the other hand, the book includes a contribution on the cultural

[1] "noticeable, despite the fact that the East Slavs had no autonomous Humanism and Renaissance of their own...," p. 5.
[2] "may be filled...by recourse to the...edition...of I. N. Goleniščev-Kutuzov's work, *Il Rinascimento italiano e le letterature slave dei secoli XV e XVI*...," p. 6.

relations between Italy and Hungary, a non-Slavic country, whose Humanism was "organicamente legato a quello degli Slavi...,"[3] so that "lo studio di quello è spesso indispensabile alla comprensione di questo."[4] One will readily observe that the Slavic nations discussed here, even Hungary, coincide not by accident with those having a Latin and Catholic cultural tradition.

The volume is much broader in scope than the qualification *rassegna* ('review') included in the title would lead us to believe. In fact, it is a valuable contribution toward understanding the wealth and complexity of Italo-Slavic relations at the time of the Renaissance. Moreover, the essays (all supported by a large, accurate, and well-organized bibliographical material) inform us about contemporary research on Italo-Slavic relations during the period in question, pointing out lacunae and offering useful suggestions for future research.

Three of the six essays contained in the book are devoted to an examination of recent literature on Italo-Polish cultural relations. In his exceptionally well-documented study, "La Polonia postbellica (1946–1982) sui rapporti letterari italo-polacchi all'epoca del Rinascimento," Jan Ślaski discusses the contributions published on this topic in Poland. Pietro Marchesani devotes most of his essay, "Gli studi italiani (1946–1980) sui rapporti letterari italo-slavi all'epoca dell'Umanesimo e Rinascimento," to critical studies on Italo-Polish relations produced on Italian soil. Wiktor Weintraub's introductory essay, "Western Studies of Italian-Polish Literary Relations during the Renaissance Era," completes the picture by reviewing the results of research on the same topic in other Western countries, including the United States.

Reasons for the special treatment accorded to a discussion of current research on Italo-Polish relations, and particularly to contributions on this topic published in Italy, are made clear in Marchesani's essay: "gli interventi forse piú pregevoli ed anche quantitativamente piú rilevanti si sono però avuti sull'area polacca. La ragione di ciò sta...oltre che nella particolare rilevanza...del fenomeno Umanesimo-Rinascimento in quel territorio culturale, nelle tradizioni della slavistica italiana, questa volta nella scuola di Maver."[5] The three remaining essays are devoted to a review of the existing publications on Czech, Croatian, and Hungarian cultural relations with the Italian Renaissance. In his contribution, "Il rapporto della letteratura ceca dei secoli XIV–XVI con la cultura umanistica e rinascimentale italiana," Jaroslav Kolar discusses his topic from the point of view of Czech literature. Slobodan P. Novak, in his essay "Stato degli studi (1945–1982) sui rapporti letterari italo-croati dell'umanesimo e del Rinascimento," speaks about the writings on the Croatian relationship with Italian culture, while László Szörényi, in his "Gli studi del dopoguerra in Ungheria sui rapporti letterari italo-slavi all'epoca

3 "organically connected with that of the Slavs...," p. 6.

4 "the study of the latter is often indispensable for an understanding of the former," p. 6.

5 "perhaps the most important contributions, as well as quantitatively the largest, have concerned, however, the Polish area. The reasons for this lie...besides the particular relevance...of the Humanism-Renaissance cultural phenomenon in that territory, in the traditions of Italian Slavistics, specifically in Maver's school," pp. 23–24.

dell'Umanesimo e del Rinascimento,'' writes about the existing literature on the relationship between Hungarian Humanism and Renaissance on the one hand and the Slavic world on the other, from the point of view of the Italian cultural impact. Here, however, I touch only upon the Italo-Polish aspects of the issues raised by the book, with particular attention to Weintraub's essay.

Ślaski's contribution, and also Marchesani's, review a large and interesting bibliography relating to the different aspects of Italo-Polish intellectual contacts in the Humanism-Renaissance period. These were, in fact, so lively that they created a strong and lasting tradition of cultural exchanges between the two nations, which has been maintained and enriched in recent times. The frequent conferences, the scholar exchange programs, and the growing number of publications on intellectual and particularly literary relations between the two countries demonstrate the existence of an ever greater interest in those contacts and in their historical development, with particular attention to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In Italy the tradition of Giovanni Maver's school has contributed remarkably to the development of research in this field. In the postwar period, Vittore Branca and Eugenio Garin in Italy and Mieczysław Brahmer and Lech Szczucki in Poland promoted the first Italo-Polish joint conferences and animated the exchange of cultural and literary interests and activities. In Italy, meanwhile, the tradition of Slavic studies remains strong; today it is associated in particular with Riccardo Picchio and Sante Graciotti.

Ślaski's essay is an informative and well-documented source on critical studies published in Poland. Marchesani identifies the important connections between Polish literature and the theories and techniques of Italian Renaissance literature, while at the same time paying considerable attention to independent trends appearing in the Polish literature of the same period.

Wiktor Weintraub addresses the topic at hand in a broad perspective that goes beyond the strictly Italo-Polish question. He analyzes the conditions that have determined interest among Western scholars in Italo-Polish connections during the Renaissance period, concluding that it is correlated with assumptions on the relative significance of Polish contributions to Renaissance culture. That interest, in turn, is dependent on the presence and vitality of specialized research centers as well as on the interests of individual scholars.

One area in which there has indeed been an interest among Western researchers is the radical Reform movement in sixteenth-century Poland. ''Western scholars consider the radical, Antitrinitarian literature that originated in Poland to be a vital component of European Reform movement and have integrated it into the general historical picture,'' writes Weintraub (p. 7). This relates in particular to the activity of Italian-born Antitrinitarian religious reformers such as Lelio and Fausto Sozzini, Giorgio Biandrata, Bernardo Ochino and Giovanni Paolo Alciati, who, seeking refuge in Poland, contributed greatly to the development of that movement. The most significant studies undertaken in the West on this topic are those published in the United States by Earle Morse Wilbur and George H. Williams. Weintraub observes that, unlike the Polish and Italian scholars who have studied the social and political aspects of the movement, the two Americans have investigated the topic primarily in its religious aspects. A German study by Lorenz Hein, *Italienische*

Protestanten und ihr Einfluss auf die Reformation in Polen... (1974) also addresses the topic from a religious perspective, but differs substantially in its conclusions. According to Hein, the Italian immigrants disrupted the Reformation movement in Poland from within, and essentially weakened it, thereby contributing to the final victory of the Catholic Counter-Reformation. The question of the Reformation is tied in with the issue of religious tolerance, of which the Polish Antitrinitarians were indeed vigorous proponents. (One might add that at a time when religious conflicts in Western Europe, and particularly in France, were leading to bloody persecutions and wars, Poland was considered a "Paradisus Hereticorum." Peace among the various religious denominations and the equality and protection extended to dissidents by the state found their definitive legalization in the Confederation of Warsaw of 1573.) There is no doubt, concludes Weintraub, that the sixteenth-century Reformation movement in Poland, with its intimate connections with Italy through Italian religious reformers, is an essential component of the general historical picture of the European Renaissance.

The state of the studies published in the West on other areas of the Italo-Polish relations in the Renaissance offers, however, a different picture. It is, with the exception of the research published in Italy, a "rather gloomy picture," in particular with regard to literary contacts, and it evidently reflects widely held assumptions about the limited significance of the Polish contribution to the European Renaissance in general as well as the neglect of this field of research. One exception noted by Weintraub is the contribution by Paul Oskar Kristeller, specifically his two basic reference works *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum* (Washington, 1960) and *Iter Italicum* (2 vols., London and Leiden, 1963, 1967). The American scholar has noted the presence in the libraries of Slavic countries of Latin manuscripts little known, or even unknown, in the West, thus opening the possibility of new research on the Italo-Slavic contacts.

The state of research on Polish political writings in the period under discussion remains worrisome and completely inadequate. This subject has hardly been explored abroad, writes Weintraub, although it is of great significance for the general picture of Renaissance thought. The British scholar Quentin Skinner's last book, *Foundations of Modern Political Thought* (Cambridge, 1978), covering the century of Renaissance and Reformation, does not even mention the Polish political writers Stanisław Orzechowski and Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski, and their contributions to the political thought of the European Renaissance.

The situation is particularly alarming in the field of literature stricto sensu—namely, poetry, drama, and fiction. Weintraub concludes:

> Vigorous research of Italian-Polish cultural relations must be pursued and encouraged. Such study is the surest way to prove that the Polish Renaissance both belongs to the general European picture and has a sui generis development, and that though it drew its inspiration from and was closely linked to Italy, it also had a markedly original stamp (p. 18).

Assumptions, still persistent in the West, about a limited significance of the Polish contribution to the general historical picture of the Renaissance literature can only be altered, as Weintraub suggests, through a serious and commited study of Polish Renaissance literature both in its relations with Italy and in its autonomy and

originality. This is, in fact, the surest way to avoid a fragmentation of the image of the European Renaissance in literature overall. Polish scholars living in the West have perhaps become all the more keenly aware of how obvious and urgent a necessity it now is to overcome the artificial isolation of Polish literature, as well as of other Slavic literatures, from the context of the European Renaissance. In this sense, Weintraub's voice is particularly significant.

A person who combined the qualities of the great humanist of wide-ranging interests with those of the specialist in his own national literature, demonstrating an ever vigilant and clear understanding of the spatial and cultural relations in which that literature took shape, Weintraub was precisely the one who did the most to shed some light on that "gloomy picture" offered by the state of Western studies on the subject of the connections between Polish Renaissance literature and Italy. Wiktor Weintraub, for thirty years, until his death in 1988, a professor at Harvard University, author of numerous books and innumerable essays spanning the whole of Polish literary history, never ceased to work, as a scholar, toward reclaiming for Polish literature the status it rightfully deserves within the context of European literature. His scholarly activities, carried out for the most part away from his native country, allowed him to broaden the perspective in which he was able to place the literature of his country. Bound to Poland by cultural ties which remained lively and strong, Wiktor Weintraub was an active and highly respected member of a much broader intellectual community which included, of course, the Italian and the Slavic. He created around himself a very special atmosphere, at once intellectual and warmly human, which motivated several of his American students to undertake the study of Polish culture with unparalleled enthusiasm and later to disseminate it from university chairs around the United States. This may perhaps represent his ultimate crowning achievement toward the goal of returning the culture of his country to its rightful place in the world's scholarly community.

In conclusion, the book under review documents an important and necessary initiative, which has, in fact, already been followed by other, similar, efforts. For example, another recent publication, *The Polish Renaissance in its European Context* (Indiana University Press, 1988), resulting from the conference on this topic sponsored by Indiana University and Warsaw University, provides additional proof of the need for a continuing discourse on the cultural relations between the Slavic and Western worlds.

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O TOLERANCJĘ DLA ZDOMINOWANYCH: POLITYKA WYZNANIOWA RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ W LATACH PANOWANIA WŁADYSŁAWA IV. By *Jan Dzięgielewski.* Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1986. 300 pp., 25 plates. 280 zł.

The history of the Kiev Orthodox Metropolitanate during the reign of Władysław IV has been extensively researched. Both Metropolitan Peter Mohyla and the cultural revival that occurred during his office as metropolitan (1632–1647) have drawn the attention of numerous scholars. S. Golubev created an encyclopedic work on the church in his monograph on Mohyla and his contemporaries, and, at the same time, published numerous sources. Other scholars have examined the discussion on the initiation of a new union in this period, and Father Athanasios Welykyi (Velykyi) presented substantial new documentation in the Rome-based *Analecta.* Regrettably, K. Chodynicki's work on the Orthodox church in the Polish Commonwealth ends with the year 1632, and, therefore, this important study that emphasizes relations with the Polish-Lithuanian state does not encompass Mohyla's period. Since P. Zhukovych's work on the struggle of the Orthodox nobles to defend the church's rights in the Diet also only goes to 1632, the relations between the Polish-Lithuanian state and Orthodox church have been insufficiently researched. Dzięgielewski in part fills this gap by discussing the state's attitude and actions toward the church, although, unlike Chodynicki, he does not attempt to examine internal church affairs. He does, however, broaden the perspective on the state's actions by examining policies toward the Protestants as well as toward the Orthodox. Since this was a period in which Protestants, especially Antitrinitarians, played a major role in religious and political affairs in the Ukrainian lands, his enquiry is of particular interest to specialists in Ukrainian history.

The period examined by Dzięgielewski is one in which tolerance declined among the inhabitants of the Commonwealth, but also one in which the traditions of toleration, foreign policy considerations, and vigorous campaigns by noble adherents preserved considerable freedom for the Orthodox and Protestant churches. He affirms the influence of Władysław IV in determining religious policy by choosing the dates of the king's reign as a framework for study of the Commonwealth's religious policies. In examining the complex nature of religious policy in the Commonwealth, Dzięgielewski discusses the king's initiatives and charters, the decisions of the Diet, the decrees of law courts, dietines, and urban councils, and the activities of landlords. He concentrates on the monarchy and the Diet, the central institutions of the Commonwealth. Naturally, what emerges most clearly is the policy of the monarch, who combined his own tolerant religious views with domestic and foreign considerations. The House of Delegates, an ever-changing body that met twelve times during Władysław's reign and based its decisions on the mandates of dietines, lends itself to description of discussions and actions rather than to an analysis of long-range policies. The limited explicit analysis of the role of the Senate is surprising, for this body was increasing in influence in governmental affairs. It also included within its ranks the Catholic bishops, and thereby it institutionalized the power of the Catholic church. Although the book contains a great deal of information on religious affairs and the activities of other institutions, the lesser the institution, the less substantial the material.

Apart from an introduction and a conclusion, Dzięgielewski divides his book into five chapters. In the first, he examines the interregnum after Zygmunt's death and the election of Władysław IV. He shows how Orthodox and Protestants used the opportunities offered by the candidate's need for a unanimous election and by the dangers facing the Commonwealth from Protestant Sweden and Orthodox Muscovy to preserve privileges and to gain concessions. However, Władysław also had to avoid alienating the Catholics—including the Uniates—and the papacy and therefore could not fulfill many non-Catholic wishes. Nevertheless, the gravity of the international situation, in which the Commonwealth needed the support of its non-Catholic inhabitants, convinced all but the most zealous Catholic that concessions were needed. In the second chapter, Dzięgielewski explains that although Władysław and the Diet wavered in fulfilling the promises of concessions, the Orthodox and the Protestants found their cause strengthened by the Smolensk war with Muscovy and by Władysław's plans to marry the daughter of Frederick of Palatine, the Protestant "Winter King." Chapter three covers 1635 to 1643, a difficult period for Protestants, when Władysław no longer sought advantages from Protestant powers by arranging a marriage and when the increasingly intolerant Catholic nobles had greater say. In the fourth chapter, "Toward Impossible Unity," Dzięgielewski examines the monarch's support for a *colloquium charitativum* at Toruń in 1645 so that Catholics and various groups of Protestants might air their views in more moderate tones. The king's desire to play a more active role in the settlement of the Thirty Years' War stimulated his activity in this exceptional, if fruitless, venture. In the last chapter, "The Delusions of a 'New Union,'" Dzięgielewski discusses the role of the king and the Diet in promoting a new accommodation between the papacy and the Orthodox, which took on great importance in the late 1640s as the king sought to obtain papal and Cossack support for a war against the Ottomans.

In contrast to scholars who have concentrated on the sixteenth-century toleration, Dzięgielewski has chosen the age in which toleration declined. He properly emphasizes the growing dependence of non-Catholics on foreign powers and on external threats to the Commonwealth in maintaining their situation, though he does not devote sufficient attention to the role of the Zaporozhian Cossacks or to the implications for the Orthodox church of Cossack defeats in the mid-1630s. His discussion is balanced, though one detects an apologetic tone, particularly in his emphasis on Polish tolerance in comparison with contemporary Europe's intolerance. One would have preferred more comparative analysis of state, society, and church in seventeenth-century Europe that would have placed the Commonwealth's path—victory of the Counter-Reformation without an absolutist monarch or an increasingly powerful state—in context.

Dzięgielewski does not change the general picture of the relationship of the Commonwealth and the Orthodox church, though he does bring new details and sources to the question. His account is somewhat weakened by an incomplete discussion of policies toward the Uniates. This is, however, somewhat justified, because Uniates belonged to the dominant Catholic church, but both the state and the Latin hierarchy continued to view them as a separate, and inferior entity, and to

consider Uniate and Orthodox policies in concert. Dzięgielewski has missed a few published sources.[1] In the case of St. Afanasii Fylypovych's diary, this prevented him from discussing the monk's intrusion into the Diet of 1643 and Afanasii's demand that Władysław dismantle the monument to his father that stood in front of the royal palace. He has also overlooked, or did not include in his notes, some significant secondary literature, but in some cases one presumes that works published in the West may not be available in Polish libraries.[2] He also mistakenly describes the important Orthodox polemical tract and political discussion, *Rzym albo Stolyca Rzymska, jésli co ma do praw Korony Polskiej y WXL polityckich*, as published by Golubev, whereas Golubev merely discusses it in an article.[3]

Although one can sympathize with Dzięgielewski's quandaries in finding an accurate and economic terminology for the seventeenth century, one cannot always approve of his usage. He correctly entitles his book "Confessional policies of the Commonwealth," but frequently calls its inhabitants "Poles," all Protestants "Polish Protestants," and his subject "Polish tolerance," as though the Grand Duchy of Lithuania did not exist (see pp. 100–101). In a discussion of an age when Krzysztof and Janusz Radziwiłł were major leaders of the Calvinist nobility, such practice seems unwise. Orthodox are frequently called "disuniates," while Uniates are occasionally called "Greek Catholics" (p. 195). The first makes the author appear partisan, for while the opponents of the seventeenth-century Orthodox may have used the term (and even then only occasionally), the Orthodox neither used it for themselves nor accepted its usage. In contrast, the Uniates used "unici" to describe themselves, and there seems no reason for Dzięgielewski to employ "Greek Catholics," a term the Habsburgs began to use for the Uniates of Galicia only after 1772.

Dzięgielewski has written a comprehensive work on a complex period in the history of the Commonwealth's religious policies. By juxtaposing Protestant and Orthodox issues, he provides material for comparing the situation of each group. He also draws attention to the importance of affairs in the Ukraine, above all the actions

[1] One example of the lack of attention to sources published in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* may be seen by his citation of the fragment of Kysil's speech before the Diet of 1641 published by Golubev instead of the full text published in my article, "Regionalism and Political Thought in Seventeenth-Century Ukraine: The Nobility's Grievances at the Diet of 1641" (*HUS* 6, no. 2 [June 1982]). Neither does one find St. Afanasii's writings, which exist in Soviet and in prerevolutionary editions. The reports of the papal nuncio, Giovanni de Torres, corroborate St. Afanasii's own statement that he broke into the Diet.

[2] Works missing include Zacharias ab Haarlem, *Unio Ruthenorum a morte Sigismundi III usque ad coronationem Ladislai 1632–1633* (Tartu, 1933); V. Bednov (Bidnov), *Pravoslavnaia tserkov' v Pol'she i Litve po "Volumina Legum"* (Katerynoslav, 1908); Arkadii Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednosty tserkov* (Paris, 1969); J. Krajcar, "The Ruthenian Patriarchate—Some Remarks on the Project for its Establishment in the Seventeenth Century," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 30, no. 1–2 (1960): 65–84; Viacheslav Zaikyn, *K voprosu o polozhenii pravoslavnoi tserkvi v pol'skom gosudarstve v XIV–XVII vekakh* (Warsaw, 1935); and A. V. Rozov, "Istoricheskii obzor seimovych konstitutsii i korolevskikh dekretov byvshei Pol'skoi Rechipospolitoi kasatel'no dissidentov," *Trudy Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii* (1867), as well as the general church histories by Ivan Vlasovs'kyi and Atanasii Velykyi (Welykyi).

[3] S. Golubev, "Neizvestnoe polemicheskoe sochinenie protiv papskikh pritiazanii v Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii (1633 goda)," *Trudy Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii*, 1899, no. 2, pp. 300–341.

against Iurii Nemyrych, in his discussion of the Protestants' situation. His work is essential reading for all who wish to understand the Orthodox church in the age of Mohyla and the religious situation in the Commonwealth on the eve of the Khmel'nyts'kyi uprising.

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BYZANTINE KYIVAN RITE STUDENTS IN PONTIFICAL COLLEGES, AND IN SEMINARIES, UNIVERSITIES AND INSTITUTES OF CENTRAL AND WESTERN EUROPE (1576–1983). By *Dmytro Blažejovskyj.* Annals of the Order of St. Basil the Great (Analecta OSBM), series 2, section 1, vol. 43. Rome: The Basilian Fathers, 1984. 366 pp.

The Rev. Dr. Dmytro Blažejovskyj prefaces his book with the statement that because Christianity, since its official acceptance as the state religion of Kievan Rus' a millennium ago, has been kept alive through the teaching office of the clergy, the education of the clergy is of prime importance in the life of the church. Father Blažejovskyj has long studied the history of Ukrainian clerical education. His thesis for a 1946 degree in ecclesiastical history from the Gregorian University in Rome was on the Pontifical Ukrainian and Armenian Colleges of Lviv from 1665 to 1784; a revised version in English, entitled *Ukrainian and Armenian Pontifical Seminaries of Lviv (1665–1784)* was published in *Analecta OSBM*, ser. 2, sect. 1, vol. 29 (Rome, 1975). In 1974, his article "Ukrainian and Bielorussian Students in the Pontificio Collegio Urbano de Propaganda Fide (1627–1846)" was published in *Analecta OSBM* (vol. 9). In 1979, the article "Ukrainian and Bielorussian Students at the Pontifical Greek College of Rome (1576–1976)" appeared in *Analecta OSBM*, vol. 10.

The book under review includes data from these earlier works as well as information on all other pontifical colleges, universities, and institutes, as well as on several seminaries and universities in Central and Western Europe attended by "Byzantine Kyivan [*sic*] rite students." The author uses the phrase to mean students belonging to what is otherwise known as the Ruthenian or Ukrainian rite. He uses "Byzantine" to indicate the historical origin of the rite, and "Kyivan" to indicate the cultural center where it developed.

As Father Blažejovskyj suggests in his preface and introduction, it is neither expedient nor appropriate to attempt to determine the nationalities of the students he lists. In the sources they are classified not by nationality, but by political state of residence. In his view, however, the proper principle of organization is neither nationality nor political state, but rite. The Byzantine Kievan rite originated in the Metropolitanate of Kiev and consists of a specific liturgy, laws, and customs. The clergy of this rite now use different languages to celebrate the liturgy, but they still form a single ritual group, which from the church-historical viewpoint, is the most appropriate organizational unit. Thus, although nearly all the students listed in this work appear to have been of Ukrainian nationality, the author has defined the scope

of his study by rite.

In a work which is mainly documentary rather than interpretive, locating sources is crucial. In this case the task has been particularly difficult. Father Blažejovskyj has not only done painstaking research in the various archives in Rome, but has gone to Innsbruck, Vienna, Budapest, and Prešov (Czechoslovakia) to examine the materials available there. In the last city, he was not admitted to the diocesan archives and library, confiscated by the government in 1950.

The registers and catalogues of the educational institutions that form the principal source base of this book are often incomplete or non-existent. The schematisms (statistical reports) of various dioceses, which can be found in Rome, Budapest, and Vienna, provide some information, but many volumes of these compilations are missing. In many cases the author has searched the relevant archives. To determine the number of students at the Hirschberg-Culemborg seminary in 1946–1950, he made use of UNRRA sugar and cigarette distribution lists. But much important information has been irrevocably lost, or was never recorded, so Father Blažejovskyj has often relied on the oral recollections of rectors and former students. His ten-page list of "Sources and Bibliography" gives some idea of the dearth of sources by the frequent label "personal information." "Some information," laments Father Blažejovskyj in his introduction, "is not recorded anywhere but in the memories of individuals, and if not collected and recorded here, would in time be lost forever"—an indication of the deplorable state of documentation on this subject as well as of the value of the author's contribution to historical scholarship.

Byzantine Kyivan Rite Students contains six chapters and a student index. The first five chapters list students at the various types of educational institutions. Each list is preceded by historical sketches of the given establishments, in alphabetical order. (For a brief historical overview of the education of Byzantine-rite students, the reader should consult pp. 25–26 of the introduction.) Chapter 1 provides information on thirty-two West European colleges, seminaries, and other institutions and on the Byzantine-rite students who attended them. Chapter 2 concerns students of five Byzantine-rite monastic orders (Basilians, Franciscans, Redemptorists, Salesians, and Studites) living in their own monasteries in Rome and elsewhere in Italy. The third chapter lists students who received doctorates in theology and philosophy or who pursued special studies in Rome and Louvain. Chapter 4 deals with students of theology at the University of Vienna, and chapter 5 covers students at the Ukrainian Catholic University in Rome and the Ukrainian Free University in Munich. Chapter 6 gives the available titles of doctoral theses in theology, philosophy, and special studies defended by the students listed in the preceding chapters; the titles are arranged alphabetically by name of institution. The list is shorter than one might expect; nonetheless, it is interesting to see the kinds of topics chosen, for example, by Ukrainian students at the University of Vienna in the nineteenth century. The last section is probably the most useful and certainly the most impressive part of the book: an alphabetical list of 3,460 students giving for each student institutions attended, years of entrance, and the type, date, and awarding institution of degrees earned, insofar as known. The entries are cross-referenced to the student listings in chapters 1 through 6.

The introduction and historical sketches reveal some of the difficulties encountered by the Uniate church in educating its clergy. For example, Metropolitan Veljamyn Ruts'kyj made great efforts to obtain papal and imperial promises of twenty-six places for Uniate students in pontifical colleges. However, the promises

were only oral, and the Roman Curia failed to overrule the opposition of college rectors. Thus fifteen years passed before Pope Paul V's promise of two places for Kievan rite students at Olomouc College was fulfilled, and another sixty years before the rectors' opposition ceased altogether. Of the 66 students from the Kievan Metropolitanate who attended that college from 1578 to 1741, 24 never served the metropolitan thereafter. In one instance, students sent by the Metropolitan of Kiev to St. Bartholomew's College in Prague were turned away at the door, not allowed even to see the rector. The standard excuse was that Kiev—unlike the provinces of Lusazia and Hassia, which were wholly fictitious—was not mentioned in the college's bull of erection. For much of the eighteenth century, the Lviv Seminary (1709–1784) was the only seminary for the over 6,000 parishes of Galicia, Volhynia, and the Ukrainian part of the Kievan archeparchy. And yet, as Father Blažejovskyj points out in his introduction, of the three churches centered at Constantinople, Moscow, and Rome, it was the Roman church that made the greatest effort to educate the Kievan-rite clergy.

Byzantine Kyivan Rite Students is sprinkled with fascinating historical details. We learn, for example, that after the Synod of 1720, funds donated by the Uniate bishops of Lviv, Peremyšl', and Luc'k were invested in the Galician village of Dubljany, the income being used to support students at the Lviv Seminary. After the seminary was closed in 1784, the village was confiscated and sold. From 1845 the interest on the proceeds of its sale was used to support Ukrainian students in Rome, even after they had moved to the new Ruthenian College in Piazza Madonna dei Monti in 1897.

Father Blažejovskyj's terminology, which will strike some readers as unorthodox, deserves mention, for it reflects his original conception of church history. This conception, set out briefly in the introduction (on pp. 23–25), is based on a view of the Kievan church as influenced by three ecclesiastical centers: Constantinople, Moscow, and Rome. At various stages in its history, this Byzantine-rite church (or its splinters) chose union with one or another of these centers, forming a Constantinopolitan Uniate church in 1037 (revived in 1620), a Roman Uniate church in 1595–1596, and a Muscovite Uniate church in 1686. The traditions of the Byzantine Kievan rite were lost by the Constantinopolitan Uniate church after it united with the Muscovite church (today's Russian Orthodox church). Thus, of the three, only the Roman Uniate church—now commonly known as the Ukrainian Catholic church—remains to preserve that heritage. (Presumably, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox church, which Father Blažejovskyj refers to simply as the Autonomous church, can do likewise.)

Father Blažejovskyj's bold interpretation of church history will precipitate fresh analyses. His hope that this work will be "an incentive to others to continue the study of the Kyivan rite church as an entity and identity within the Universal Church" is certain of fulfillment. By completing this painstaking and monumental compilation, he has given scholars, clergy, and laity a valuable reference tool while laying the groundwork for future studies of an essential aspect of that church's life.

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SOCIAL PRECONDITIONS OF NATIONAL REVIVAL IN EUROPE: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF PATRIOTIC GROUPS AMONG THE SMALLER EUROPEAN NATIONS. By *Miroslav Hroch.* Translated by *Ben Fowkes.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985. xiii, 220 pp.

Ever since an earlier version of this book appeared in German in 1968, Miroslav Hroch's work has generated intense interest among social historians of East Central Europe. The book investigates the interrelation of the social and the national among what Hroch calls the "small" (and others have called the "oppressed," "submerged," or "nonhistoric") peoples in both East Central and Northern Europe. Hroch divides the history of their national movements into three analytically distinct phases: A, B, and C. Phase A corresponds to what Paul R. Magocsi has called the "heritage-gathering" stage, a period when educated enthusiasts studied the history, language, and folk culture of a given nationality without any widespread social influence. Phase B (Magocsi's "organizational" stage) is what Hroch calls "the period of patriotic agitation," when the national movement began to penetrate into the masses. When that penetration is completed, Phase B ends and Phase C, characteristic of the mature national movement, begins. Hroch's focus is on Phase B, socially the most dynamic phase. He investigates it in a wide and rigorous comparative framework; a chapter each is devoted to the Flemish, Schleswig Danish, Norwegian, Finnish, Estonian, Lithuanian, Czech, and Slovak movements, generally in the mid- to late nineteenth century. The particular method he uses is the analysis of groups of "patriots," e.g., subscribers to *Časopis českého musea*, in terms particularly of their social structure and geographical distribution. The result of his painstaking labors is a social analysis of national movements based on a methodology approximating that of the natural sciences. The flavor of Hroch's social science can be readily appreciated from this extract from the conclusions to his book:

> Far too many myths and dogmas have arisen precisely around the study of the national movement because historians have placed their trust uncritically in constructs which were apparently logical and self-evident. In our own field, let us give as examples of this the thesis customarily accepted by many national historians that the teachers played an important role in all national movements, or the thesis that the patriots in small nations always came predominantly from the countryside, or the thesis that the bourgeoisie stood at the head of the national movement right from its inception. These and other theses could not retain their universal validity when confronted with the quantitative data. (p. 177)

Although Hroch's influence has already been felt among historians of the Ukraine (particularly in works by Andreas Kappeler as well as by the undersigned), a great deal more is worth undertaking. It would be very fruitful, for example, to use Hroch's methods to compare the social composition and territorial distribution of the competing Russophile and Ukrainian orientations in the Western Ukraine. It could also be illuminating to use Hroch's methodology and his typology of national movements to compare the national movements in different regions of the Ukraine. Aside from these larger topics, the historian of the Ukrainian national movement will find much else suggested by Hroch's rich comparative study.

This English edition is a revised version of Hroch's original German work. A major change in the English edition is the addition of a new and rather complicated typology of national movements. Hroch breaks national movements down into four types (integrated, belated, insurrectional, and disintegrated) depending on the order in which certain historic processes occurred. Great weight in this typology is assigned to the bourgeois revolution, the industrial revolution, and the coming of the organized working-class movement. For agrarian, politically and economically backward East Central Europe, these events do not seem to be the most relevant, especially for the nineteenth century, and the typology is not in the end very convincing. Perhaps a revised version of the typology, however—one more attuned to the actual socioeconomic experience of the region—could be a useful device for pursuing further comparative investigations.

Hroch is not the clearest of writers, fond of statements so compact and precise as to become, at times, elliptic. The translation by Ben Fowkes seems to be, within the limits of Hroch's prose, a faithful rendering of the original. Cambridge University Press printed the book fairly well, except for confusion in the notes to chapters 17 and 18 and the conclusions. But the Press is to be congratulated for bringing out an important book in English translation.

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MOTHERS OF MISERY: CHILD ABANDONMENT IN RUSSIA. By *David L. Ransel*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988. 330 pp. $34.95.

Ivan Betskoi, enlightened minister of Catherine the Great, creator of Russia's eighteenth-century foundling homes in Moscow and St. Petersburg, occupies a position of central importance, even of ministerial heroism, at the beginning of David Ransel's book *Mothers of Misery: Child Abandonment in Russia.* Betskoi, dealing in the social categories of "merciless mothers" and "honorable philanthropists," saw in the foundling homes an institutional mechanism that would elevate Russian society according to the highest ideals of both enlightened absolutism and eighteenth-century child care without swaddling or corporal punishment (pp. 8 and 42). Infanticide was to give way to socially engineered civilization. The foundling homes of Russia became tourist attractions of the Enlightenment (a phenomenon that may not seem too peculiar to those who have found themselves on guided tours of Soviet day care centers), and William Coxe commented appreciatively on the end of "the horrid practice of destroying infants, so prevalent in these parts before the institution of this hospital" (p. 57).

Ransel promptly questions the reliability of Coxe's knowledge about "horrid practice" in Russia, and, although Ransel has already provided a comprehensive account of the increased visibility of illegitimacy and abandonment in eighteenth-century Russia, one cannot help observing that in dramatizing the achievement of "enlightenment" and "civilization" the foundling homes also formulated the "backwardness" and "barbarism" of Russian society. Enlightened absolutism identified itself in opposition to its unenlightened social base of operations, and in order to call forth a class of "honorable philanthropists" Betskoi also had to formulate the corresponding class of "merciless mothers." The ideologically constructed nature of such social categories becomes all the more apparent in Ransel's own merciless analysis of the foundling homes in their founding context, the emptiness of their social utility highlighted against the grandiosity of their enlightened pretensions. In 1767, when the Moscow foundling home was three years old, its mortality rate for admitted infants reached 99 percent. This was a peculiarly morbid sort of Potemkin village in the middle of the city, its architecturally monumental shell (now the Dzerzhinskii Artillery and Engineering Institute) not exactly empty, but full of dying children. The book may be read as an extraordinary account of the Enlightenment, as expressed in Betskoi's "daring, even utopian, approach," overwhelmed by the social and economic forces of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—the very forces it was intended to "civilize" and contain (p. 7).

Ransel develops a brilliant social and economic analysis of the two urban foundling homes and their surrounding systems of village fosterage. He argues that the fosterage programs were "essentially commercial mechanisms carrying on a traffic in children." Foster mothers regarded nursing "as a job, an opportunity to earn needed cash or goods." The children themselves Ransel designates with devastating economic insight as "a perishable commodity in a system of exchange between the city and the village" (p. 198). In completely convincing detail he describes the elaborate "foundling market," from the institutional tinkering that sought to moderate abandonment by regulating conditions of admission, to the sliding pay scale of incentives that sought to adjust the number of nurses to the supply of children. At the same time he locates this commercial system in the context of pre-industrial economic life, arguing that fosterage was well suited to supplementing a pressured agricultural economy, while foster mothers "moved in and out of the trade in response to their own or their family's financial needs, the fluctuating pay levels within the system, and the wage differential between this work and alternative forms of employment" (p. 254). In one district, for instance, Ransel ranks children as "the fifth largest trade," after dairy, wood, mushrooms and berries, and agriculture; in another district fosterage was third, topped only by hauling wood and producing flax (p. 231).

The economic lives of these "perishable commodities" generated a complex network of commercial roles and practices. Ransel identifies the *kommissionerka* who carted abandoned children to the foundling homes in Moscow and St. Petersburg, the *torgovka* who picked up children at the homes and peddled them to foster mothers in the villages; even the village priest could earn a one-ruble commission for finding a willing foster mother among his parishioners. On the other side of the

network were the doctors and overseers who sought to supervise the fosterage system on behalf of the sponsoring institution, traveling to the villages to inspect the foster mothers and children. One might expect to discover here the forces of Foucaultian surveillance, a disciplinary monitoring of the villages by these agents of the central panoptical institution. Yet, the values of social discipline were apparently overwhelmed by the irresistible economic forces that governed the foundling trade. The foster mother could not be analytically reconceived and reinvented as a functional facet of her own paybook; in fact paybooks were often immediately pawned to brokers, which suggests that they expressed not the disciplined identity of the foster mother, but only the economic value of the commodity-child.

In fact the paybook could functionally substitute for the child altogether, and one of the crudest supervisory concerns was to ascertain that the children were still alive, and that foster mothers were not collecting their nursing stipends on the live paybooks of dead children. Ransel traces the economic rationale, that of desperate poverty, which always attended the foundling systems from abandonment through fosterage to death and beyond. While institutional authorities worried over whether abandonment was a consequence of shame or poverty, the high rate of abandoned legitimate children suggested the greater weight of the latter motive. There was even less reason to wonder whether maternal sentiment or economic need motivated foster mothers to sell their services. The only instances, in fact, when economy and sentiment appeared to dovetail was when a mother abandoned her own child and then managed to get it back again from the foundling home as a foster child with a paybook. The same effect could be obtained when a foster child died in the village, and the foster mother succeeded in assigning to her own child the dead foundling's paybook-identity. In these grim Gilbert-and-Sullivan scenarios of child substitution, economic and sentimental motives could be reconciled only by brazenly cheating the system. Ironically, it was thus, only in the preposterous breach, that this system could function as a modern welfare agency giving aid, albeit unwittingly, to the impoverished families of dependent children.

At the center of Ransel's argument is the role of fosterage in mediating the socioeconomic relations between the two great urban metropolises and rural village Russia. The crucial process was social and economic "circulation" of children and money respectively. Children were abandoned by village mothers (or later by city servants of recent rural origin), then collected in the two urban foundling homes, which "recirculated the children back to the countryside through the provision of cash" (p. 221). At the same time, the economics of fosterage adapted to niches formed in the evolving balance between agriculture and industry through the nineteenth century. Interestingly, William Coxe in the eighteenth century is said to have seen performed in the Moscow foundling home a performance of Rousseau's opera *Le Devin du village*. This would suggest that, at least in the period of its enlightened foundation, the urban institution self-consciously nourished a Rousseau-ist ideal of village life, represented in the middle of the city, recirculating values along with children and money.

The power and lucidity of Ransel's social and economic analysis raises other interesting questions of culture around the edges of his own central concerns. Some of these issues are national and ethnic. Nineteenth-century concern for the Russian national identity of children with Finnish foster mothers suggests that the nationally Russian character of the whole system may constitute a complex problem in its own right. Ransel proposes that Russian child care, judging from its rate of child mortality, was distinct from that of Poles, Balts, Jews, and Ukrainians in the Russian Empire. The special characteristics of family and fosterage in Russia will, no doubt, emerge all the more clearly in the light of comparable studies that consider the other national societies of Eastern Europe. Ransel's work should serve as both a stimulus and a standard for the future conduct of such research in this field.

Ransel also suggests provocative issues in the ideological culture of childhood in nineteenth-century Russia, for society at large as well as within the fosterage system. The dissonance between eighteenth-century ideals and institutional mortality is clearly drawn, while the irresistible commercialism of fosterage in the nineteenth century serves to emphasize further the hopelessness of Betskoi's enlightened vision. Ransel focuses less on the new dissonances that emerge in the nineteenth century between elite Victorian sentimental ideals and the socioeconomic realities of village childhood and motherhood now revealed (though then perhaps concealed) by the foundling system. Suggestively symptomatic of prevailing cultural assumptions were the criticisms of fosterage, for "breaching the most sacred obligation of a mother and a Christian" (p. 192). Ransel mentions the changing image of fallen women and unwed mothers in Russian literature, and one wonders as well about the literary representations of childhood, from the privileged kingdom of Tolstoy's *Childhood*, to the brutal revolutionary counter-representation in Gorky's *My Childhood*. For the nineteenth-century child was not only a perishable commodity, but also a sentimental totem, and consideration of the foundling-commodity even suggests a relation of complementary inversion to the child-fetish in elite culture.

Ransel is clearly conscious of these cultural nuances, even as he underscores the relentless economic realities of the foundling system. His title, "mothers of misery," inverts the sentimental logic of Betskoi's "merciless mothers," while at the same time declines the more potently sentimental "children of misery." The marvelous cover prepared by Princeton University Press serves to draw the reader further into the complex agenda of Ransel's work. The cover image shows a woman nursing a child, and the jacket flap gives the title, "A Mother" (1915). By the time one has finished the book, however, one is well aware that nursing women are not necessarily mothers, and nursing itself something fraught with social and economic complications. It is a tribute to the excellence of Ransel's historical analysis that it so powerfully subverts and reorders one's conventional sentimental reactions to an image of motherhood.

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THE JEWS OF ODESSA: A CULTURAL HISTORY, 1794–1881. By *Steven J. Zipperstein.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985. ix, 212 pp. $32.50.

The modernization of European Jewry that began in the second half of the eighteenth century with a dual European and Jewish Enlightenment, which brought forth the ideas of acculturation and assimilation, represents one of the most profound social transformations of modern European history. The last ten years have witnessed the emergence within Jewish historical scholarship of a number of regional and communal studies showing the inadequacy of one model for Jewish modernization. Steven Zipperstein's work, the first history of Jewish Odessa in any language, is a welcome addition to these studies. But the reader should not be fooled by the book's title—this is much more than the story of a marginal group in an outpost city.

The work studies the cultural transformation of Odessa Jewry—the breakdown of rabbinic Judaism and its replacement by more secular ways of looking at the world—from the founding of the city within "New Russia" in 1794 to the pogroms of 1881 that erupted after the assassination of Alexander II. Rather than compare Odessa to the major centers of Jewish cultural transformation (e.g., Berlin) and focus on prominent intellectual figures associated with the Jewish Enlightenment, Professor Zipperstein studies Odessa Jewry on its own terms, examining all the factors, social, economic, and intellectual, present in Odessa society as a whole.

The special case of Jewish modernization represented by Odessa is explained on one level by the changing, diverse character of Odessa itself. Though it had been settled since ancient times, Odessa entered the Russian Empire only at the end of the eighteenth century, and overnight became the market center for grain from the recently acquired territory of the Ukraine. This early commercial focus gave the city a dynamic, free, and raw character. Russia's grain trade was conducted there not by Russians, but by Greeks, Italians, Armenians, and Jews. The city became increasingly popular, and a magnet of immigration for Jews from nearby Austrian Galicia, who came to Odessa with Western enlighted ideas. By the 1830s, Odessa's Galician Jews came to dominate as middlemen, factors, and agents in the grain trade (though the Italians and Greeks still held a monopoly in the area of export), as well as to gain control of the Jewish communal council. Despite struggles with Russian authorities and traditional Jewish factions, Odessa's Galician Jews, who came to be called "the Varangians of Russian Jewry," successfully established an enlightened synagogue, modern Jewish schools teaching secular subjects, and Hebrew-, Yiddish-, and Russian-language Jewish newspapers.

Professor Zipperstein's discussions of prominent literary and intellectual figures demonstrate the far-reaching potential of modernization in Odessa. A figure such as Moses Leib Lilienblum, for example, embraced for a time the ideas of the Russian nihilists. Proponents and opponents of reform believed Odessa was on the path to a radical transformation, but by the middle of the nineteenth century Odessa Jewry could be seen to be split between the traditionalists, the "Enlightened," and the "Assimilated." The masses and the relatively small upper and middle classes of

Jews were removed from the most radical social and ideological changes. Assimilation was restricted to the commercial and intellectual Jewish elite. But for reasons other than tension within its Jewish society, the golden age of Odessa and its Jewry was to be short-lived. In the 1870s a gradual process of economic deterioration due to the economic rise of other cities in New Russia and the increasing role of the United States in the international grain trade brought about an economic reversal. This economic decline, together with the pogroms of 1881, brought many intellectuals to what Zipperstein calls an ideological reassessment. Lilienblum himself, one of the assimilated, slowly became transformed into a Zionist.

Zipperstein demonstrates that the history of Odessa's Jewry is related as much to the social, economic, and intellectual aspects of the society at large as it is to the Jewish Enlightenment. Furthermore, this regional study not only underscores the importance of a differentiated model for Jewish modernization based on local conditions, but also illustrates the diversity of East European Jewry. The modern East European Jewish experience cannot be characterized solely by orthodoxy and hasidism. The history of Odessa's Jewry told here is intertwined in the history of the dynamic city itself. Zipperstein's approach to his subject, as well as his clear and direct style makes the work of interest not only to the Jewish historian, but also to the historian of Russia, Poland, and the Ukraine.

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FEMINISTS DESPITE THEMSELVES: WOMEN IN UKRAINIAN COMMUNITY LIFE, 1884–1939. By *Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak*. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1988. xxv, 460 pp. $29.95.

The historical intersection of feminism and nationalism has attracted by no means the amount of scholarly attention that the intersection of feminism and socialism has generated. Yet on the comparative level, as the peoples of the world become conscious of their distinctive ethnic and linguistic identities and seek cultural autonomy and political sovereignty, this topic is enormously important and potentially inexhaustible. Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak's pioneering study of the Ukrainian women's movement is a major contribution to our understanding of this intersection. Her overview provides the benchmark for all further investigation of Ukrainian women's social and political activism.

Bohachevsky-Chomiak offers a stunning range of documentation, drawn from archives in the USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the United States, and Canada, and from an impressive range of published sources, including the women's almanac, *Pershyi vinok* (1887–), a joint publication of East and West Ukrainian women, and the journal *Zhinka* (1930s). A richly annotated bibliography and an extensive index

invite repeated consultation.

The book is divided into six parts. The first two discuss, respectively, the background and late nineteenth-century development of Ukrainian women's organizations in the Russian Empire and in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The third part considers Ukrainian women's participation in the national liberation struggle prior to World War I, while the fourth (and longest) part covers the activities of West Ukrainian (mostly Galician) women in the interwar period. Two brief concluding sections discuss Ukrainian women's participation in the international feminist movement and Soviet Ukrainian women.

The story of the Ukrainian women's movement is first that of a highly self-conscious minority, dispersed across a number of multi-ethnic national states, with family and the Ukrainian church at its organizational center. The goals of the Ukrainian women's movement, as the author makes clear, were for the most part purposefully subordinated to Ukrainian community goals (p. xx). The women's emphasis was insistently on self-help within the Ukrainian community, not on the broader philanthropic outreach more characteristic of women's movements in Western Europe (p. xxii). Ukrainian women sought and acquired operating space within their own communities: in the case of the Ukrainians within the Russian Empire, this quest stood in opposition to the Russification campaigns of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; in the case of the Galician Ukrainians it stood in tension with Polish Catholics first within the Austro-Hungarian Empire and then within the post-1918 Polish state itself.

As Bohachevsky-Chomiak rightly emphasizes, women's movements do not necessarily coincide with feminism, a theory and practice that specifically addresses the inequalities between women and men and seeks to end women's subordination. Women's movements do not, of necessity, seek women's "rights" or "autonomy" in the West European manner. In the Ukrainian case, neither women nor men had "rights" within the varied sovereign entities under which they lived: their shared goal was community recognition and self-determination.

Yet participants in women's movements within a nationalist context can and often do (like their counterparts in a socialist context) arrive at a consciousness of women's relative disabilities within their identified communities, and at a recognition of endemic sexism within the movements of which they are a part. The Ukrainian liberation movement was not exempt from exiling its women volunteers to the kitchen, and some Ukrainian women invented an indigenous feminist politics in response to such maneuvers. In such ways feminist consciousness is born, because of men's opposition to what the women are trying to accomplish (p. xxiv).

Except for Nataliia Kobryns'ka and the novelist Olha Kobylians'ka, however, organizers of the Ukrainian women's movement are portrayed by Bohachevsky-Chomiak as non-ideological, exemplifying a "pragmatic" or "community" feminism (p. xix). Indeed, many of them explicitly resisted or denied the label of feminism, which by 1900 was already in wide use in Western Europe. In most respects they fit in a tradition of mother-centered "relational feminism" (as contrasted with "individualist feminism"), a distinction I have discussed in "Defining Feminism" (*Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, Autumn 1988). Yet their very

resistance, their denial, is in itself historically interesting. As the narrative progresses into the 1930s, this resistance becomes increasingly explicit in the author's account, even as the women's organizational efforts grow stronger and more effective. The specter of Russian communism on the eastern flank does nothing to assuage Ukrainian suspicions of the Communist Party's program for liberating women. As Bohachevsky-Chomiak puts it: "Motherhood, family nurturing and service to 'Mother Ukraine' seemed a triune hypostatis of love of country, family and God" (p. 190). Building the Ukrainian nation must come before all else. Despite repeated disclaimers, much suspicion of the women's motives hovered about the increasingly powerful Ukrainian women's movement.

This study raises compelling general questions about the conditions in which feminism can or cannot manifest itself as a viable political movement, as distinct from a critique, even when women become politically organized within their communities. The Ukrainian case, as reconstituted and interpreted by Bohachevsky-Chomiak, suggests that the achievement of community identity, cohesion, stable boundaries, and a degree of political stability, even national sovereignty, may be a precondition for openly feminist activism. It suggests that in historical situations in which human collectivities experience disembodiment or political insecurity, overt feminist demands are experienced as too sensitive, too disruptive, too threatening; they must remain covert, or risk being quickly silenced. Does this not shed some new light on the deeper significance of disputes about gender relations in the process of political formation and community maturity?

Feminists Despite Themselves is a remarkable study. Interesting details abound and every reader will learn something new. In addition to discovering the existence of so many Ukrainian women's groups and publications, I found, for example, that a number of ostensibly Russian women who became well known in the West—the mathematician Sofiia Kovalevskaia, the populist-terrorist Sofiia Perovskaia, the artist/diarist Mariia Bashkirtsev, and the socialist Anna Kuliscioff—were all from Ukrainian, not Russian, families.

If I have any criticism of this book, it is a wish for additions. First, I would wish for a map or two, showing the intersection of Ukrainian settlement and the various national boundaries since the mid-nineteenth century. This would have been helpful for readers who do not specialize in the history of the Ukraine and Ukrainians. Similarly, more transliterated titles would have been useful as a means of broadening English-language readership.

Finally, I would have hoped for a more extended discussion of the politics of women's education from the standpoint of the mother-as-educator of children in the Ukrainian language and culture, a notion to which Bohachevsky-Chomiak repeatedly alludes but never fully develops. As she notes, "education for women was intertwined with political issues" (p. 15). This is such an important motif in nationalist movements elsewhere that it deserves far more extensive analysis here. Mother-educator arguments, along with the heightened role of women as teachers and contributors to the development of national literatures, are intrinsic features of national liberation movements not only in Europe, but in Latin America, Asia, and other parts of the world. But perhaps these points will be taken up by future

students of Ukrainian nationalism and feminism. Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak has provided an excellent foundation on which to build.

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WHENCE THEY CAME: DEPORTATION FROM CANADA, 1900–1935. By *Barbara Roberts.* Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1988. 246 pp. $24.95, paper.

Barbara Roberts has published an important study. In this work the author explodes the myth that Canada has always been a happily pluralistic society that welcomed immigrants from all nations. Roberts demonstrates that, on the contrary, the Canadian government administered a concealed policy of continuous deportation of migrant labor as a means of regulating the flow of workers in and out of the country. Immigrants were encouraged to settle in Canada when economic conditions were healthy, but they were systematically deported whenever crises of unemployment arose. This system, which lasted through the first third of this century, was kept isolated from public criticism by a complex web of misrepresentation, obfuscation, and lies by agencies of the Canadian government.

The majority of those deported were sent back whence they came for economic reasons, usually after they had been forced to accept public assistance. A significant number of individuals were deported because of their political affiliations. After the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 the Canadian government grew leery of the danger it perceived looming on the political left. It launched an elaborate campaign to rid the country of aliens and Communists. The International Workers of the World (IWW), or Wobblies, in particular, were a target. Because that organization contained a large proportion of immigrants, the immigrant community as a whole was considered tainted and was marked for deportation. Persons from Central and Eastern Europe were suspect. Because the Bolsheviks had seized control in Russia, Russian immigrants were viewed as subversive. Ukrainians and Finns were often summarily branded as "bolshies" in an absurd belief that one was guilty by reason of ethnic or geographic association. Publication of writings in the Ukrainian, Finnish, Russian, Hungarian, and German languages was outlawed.

In 1931 the Communist Party of Canada was proscribed under Section 98 of the criminal code. Eight of its leaders were arrested, charged with seditious conspiracy and membership in an illegal organization. All but one of the defendants were immigrants, a fact that further justified the government's nativist paranoia. Three of the eight—Sam Carr, Matthew Popovich, and John Boychuck—were of Ukrainian origin. Tim Buck, the party's chief, was British, Tom Ewan was a Scot, Amos Hill was a Finn, and Tomo Cacic was a Croatian. Only Malcom Bruce, of Prince

Edward Island, was Canadian-born.

The prosecution attempted to show that the Communist party was a threat to the established order because of its connection to the Soviet Comintern. Most of its evidence came from Comintern documents or from one Sergeant Leopold, a spy for the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. On the basis that the Comintern had advocated violent revolution, all eight of the accused were convicted, and all but Bruce were ordered deported. In the end Tomo Cacic was the only one actually expelled from Canada. The others were given five-year prison terms.

The conviction of the party leaders on Section 98 charges established a legal justification for limiting civil liberties on ideological grounds. Deportations of leftists continued steadily, and many of them were subsequently killed in Nazi or fascist death camps. In the mid-1930s a public outcry condemned the expulsions, and Mackenzie King called for the repeal of the anti-Communist legislation in 1935.

Fear of radicalism was a main reason for Canadian deportations in the early twentieth century. Other reasons were government prejudice against non-Northern Europeans and a moral priggishness that sought to condemn women for what it deemed to be loose sexual behavior. The Opium and Narcotic Drug Act (ONDA) was passed in 1922, ostensibly to curb trafficking in illicit substances. A hidden goal of the law was to eject the Chinese, who were considered an undesirable nationality. Immigration officials maintained a highly patronizing attitude toward women, who were repeatedly deported due to out-of-wedlock pregnancies or premarital romantic liaisons.

The overwhelming majority of deportations were conducted because the individual had become a public charge. Most such removals occurred during the economic gloom of 1908 and 1909 and the Great Depression of the early 1930s. In the latter period the policy amounted to a vast "shoveling out" of the unemployed. In an effort to avoid spending funds from the public coffers, the government merely shipped immigrants back whence they came, even if the person in question had received as little as two dollars in welfare payments. Officials regularly lied about the frequency of public charge deportations or manipulated the testimonies of the deportees to convince the public that most expulsions were voluntary. For example, someone who had already been told he was going to be deported might be asked if he or she would be happy to see relatives and friends back at home. If the answer was affirmative, the deportation was recorded as voluntary.

Transportation facilities for deportees were appallingly overcrowded, unsanitary, and deleterious to public health. Roberts's descriptions of the conditions on trains crossing Canada to the port of Halifax evoke comparisons with the contemporaneous totalitarian regimes of Europe. Deportees were treated like criminals, although deportation itself was considered an administrative rather than a criminal procedure. The right to due process of law and the presumption of innocence were denied to those threatened with deportation. Because there was no political check on the Immigration Office, its authority was absolute. The entire system was shockingly unjust, but the government managed to conceal it in a bureaucratic labyrinth.

Roberts's book is an impressive work of historical scholarship. Having examined a virtual mountain of archival materials and a plethora of secondary sources, she has drawn a clear, cogent, and absorbing portrait of an unfortunate and hitherto little-known chapter in Canadian history. She is critical of past government policy, but carefully supports her criticisms with precise, meticulously assembled documentary evidence. Her charts and graphs of deportation statistics are helpful and elucidating. While the author is clearly sympathetic to the deportees she avoids the temptation to editorialize. The facts and the documentation speak for themselves. The book could be improved with the addition of a subject index, but the notes and bibliography are carefully organized.

Whence They Came shows that Canada had the most arbitrary deportation practices of any country in the British Commonwealth of Nations. Roberts's research and documentation are unimpeachable and will withstand the protests of those who may find her conclusion objectionable. This book deserves to be the definitive work in the history of Canadian immigrant deportation.

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SYMON PETLJURA UND DIE UNR. By *Rudolf A. Mark.* Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte, 40. Berlin, 1988. 228 pp.

This 228-page work was published in that cross between a journal and a series, *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte*, appearing in Berlin and known for the excellence and thorough research of its contributions. Mark's work lives up to the standards of the series. It is based upon a meticulous perusal of all available secondary sources and is supplemented by a very thorough study of available primary sources. Mark was especially effective in using Polish and German diplomatic and military archives to round off the story of this last attempt of the Ukrainians to establish an independent state in the revolutionary period of the empires' collapse at the end of the First World War.

The topic is fraught with difficulties. Petliura, for all the recognition showered upon him by patriotic Ukrainian lore, remains a controversial figure even for Ukrainians. His role in the overthrow of the Hetmanate and his alliance with Poland have not endeared him to some of his countrymen. The weakness of the regime he headed, its inability to prevent the repeated outbreak of pogroms against the Jews, and the penetration of some of its ranks by Soviet agents cast a pall over an otherwise tragically noble period in modern Ukrainian history. Research and writing on this period have been hampered by both lack of sources and lack of distanced objectivity. Mark achieves the balance and the distance; he is also honest enough to admit that some issues will remain unresolved for lack of definitive evidence.

Despite his scrupulous disclaimers, Mark provides a very good introduction to this confusing period. He guides the reader through the kaleidoscopic events and changing personalities, and is particularly thorough in presenting military actions. He strikes a good balance in describing the events in both western and eastern Ukraine and he is careful to attribute interpretations to their proper authors.

Mark also provides a good sketch of Petliura, especially during his formative years. The strengths and weaknesses of the man who was placed in a position that called upon superhuman faculties are thus evident from the beginning of the study. Mark judiciously uses quotations from Petliura's speeches and articles that tellingly illustrate both the power of Petliura's oratory and the weakness of his position. At the same time, as Mark correctly points out, Petliura's charisma, as Piłsudski's, was devoid of ideology. The apparent blandness of the man is well counterpoised by the discussion of the genuine loyalty he engendered. The troops of the Ukrainian National Republic marched into battle without protest at a time when Trotsky had to decimate regiments to stem desertion.

The structure of the work is clear, the writing concise, and the appended chronological table an extremely useful device to help the reader quickly orient oneself amid the myriad events and personalities. Mark provides a singularly lucid account of the era. The focus upon the revolutionary period does not blind the author to the necessity of providing the reader with pertinent background information. That approach, combined with a solid control of primary and secondary sources, makes this a welcome candidate for an English translation. And unless the Ukrainians or the Soviet Russians open more of their archives, the Ukrainian reader will also profit from reading this book.

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NESKORENI BEREZIL'TSI: IOSYP HIRNIAK I OLIMPIIA DOBROVOL'S'KA. By *Valerian Revutsky*. New York: Slovo, 1985. 201 pp.

No accurate or complete work on the Berezil' Theater has been written since the theater was liquidated in 1934. Since then, only Les' Taniuk's book on M. Krushelnyts'kyi (1974) has provided us with some real information on the Berezil' actors; the book is noteworthy for discussing Krushelnyts'kyi's portrayals of characters in Mykola Kulish's plays, deemed politically unacceptable in the 1920s, and in resurrecting obliquely the work of Iosyp Hirniak, who is a *persona non grata* in the Soviet Union. By dealing openly with Iosyp Hirniak's portrayals in the Berezil' Theater, Taniuk, in effect, in a Soviet publication, opened a pandora's box on the Berezil' period; the book officially admitted the existence of an actor intentionally all but forgotten in the Ukraine. Since his book was about the work of

Krushelnyts'kyi, the author understandably did not develop the enigma surrounding "the other" Berezil' actor normally unnamed in Soviet accounts.

Yet, as Taniuk recognized, a full understanding of the Berezil' period and its actors is impossible without a full discussion of Iosyp Hirniak's major roles. Moreover, Hirniak, as opposed to Krushelnyts'kyi, continued in the Berezil' tradition, set out by his close friend, mentor, and artistic director, Les' Kurbas.

Long after his acting career had ended, unbeknownst to even his admirers in the Ukraine, Hirniak continued to propagate Kurbas's principles via theater productions and articles. He persistently made revelations about key figures at Berezil' and corrected Soviet misinformation about the Berezil' period.

Professor Revutsky has most appropriately entitled his book, "the undefeated Berezil' actors"; for neither Hirniak nor Olimpiia Dobrovol's'ka, a Berezil' actress and Hirniak's wife, succumbed to the political armtwisting of the Bolshevik government. He recognizes that the formation of Berezil', the selection of plays, and even the actor's craft were all political acts; the theater did not glorify the Bolshevik revolution, but examined its inner workings.

Revutsky's book, as a result, is much more than a biography of Hirniak and Dobrovol's'ka: it is about Berezil', its principles, and the political context it found itself in. His book goes a long way to providing a comprehensive account of the Berezil' actors' work during the turbulent 1920s and early 1930s in Bolshevik-occupied Ukraine.

The book is divided into eleven chapters. Chronologically, the author traces the acting of Iosyp Hirniak and Olimpiia Dobrovol's'ka in the Ukrainian theater from before the 1917 revolution to their work in the West, mainly in New York. In addition, the book includes a sizeable number of illustrations; a comprehensive list of theater roles performed by both actors; a discussion of Iosyp Hirniak's correspondence with Orysia Steshenko, erstwhile Berezil' actress and premiere Shakespeare translator, between 21 June 1967 and 7 March 1973, and, lastly, a brief description of Hirniak's writings for the theater.

Almost as an afterthought, Revutsky has added a humorous silhouette, an attempt at a biography of Hirniak, written by the noted Ukrainian humorist Ostap Vyshnia in 1929. Despite the awkward placement of Vyshnia's sketch at the back of the book, the laconic piece reinforces Revutsky's theme. Vyshnia accurately, although in a half-comical manner, pinpoints the essence of the new type of acting and theater that Hirniak represented. He suggests that Hirniak's biography is difficult to reconstruct (he writes only one page), especially when trying to piece it out of the myriad roles Hirniak created onstage.

The difficulty lies, according to Vyshnia, in that none of the roles seems to lead directly to Hirniak's biography. Each role is different, suggesting various biographies. Vyshnia implies that Hirniak represents a new type of actor, one not playing himself on stage, à la Karpo Solenyk; instead, his roles reflected the constantly changing political events in Soviet Ukraine. His biography, one can interpolate, is comprised of roles reflecting not his successes or failures, but those of his country. Revutsky obviously agrees with such an assessment; he guides the reader through Bolshevik policies in the Ukraine via a scrupulous analysis of Hirniak's roles.

Although the book is a biography of two actors, with each given an equal share of attention, the book is clearly a paean to Berezil' and its director, Les' Kurbas. Hirniak, his roles, and his commitment to the ideals of the Berezil' theater dominate the book.

The author gives generous attention to Dobrovol's'ka's role in the hectic period of Ukrainian theater's maturation (1916–1919), but it is regrettably clear that her importance as an actress recedes when the Ukrainian theater begins a new period with the founding of Berezil' in 1922. Revutsky discusses her minor portrayals in Berezil' and her postwar occupation mainly as theater director. It is a shame, however, that he does not elaborate on the reasons Dobrovol's'ka failed to gain in Berezil' the preeminent status she had in the Molodii Teatr of Kiev.

The book focuses on the period following the dismemberment of the Berezil' Theater, Hirniak's work in the concentration camp in Chibiu, his productions in the Western Ukraine during the German occupation, and Dobrovol's'ka's and Hirniak's work in Western Europe and the United States.

As dean of Ukrainian theater scholarship in the West, Professor Revutsky is ably assisted in his account by an in-depth knowledge of theater history and dramaturgy—the book serves partly as an informative guide to world drama and prevalent Ukrainian theater criticism in the 1920s and postwar period. One of the book's main assets is the inclusion, in an organized and coherent manner, of all noted criticism of Hirniak's pre-exile performances by Iurii Smolych, Petro Rulin, Vasyl' Khmurii, and Iona Shevchenko, and reviews of his work after exile by Iu. Shevelov, Valentyn Hlushko, Iurii Dyvnych, and others.

Hirniak represented a new type of European actor who was fashioned in the 1920s. That actor was able to separate his role from himself; also, he did not imitate reality but instead transformed it and indicated his ideological stance toward it. The Berezil' actor, as Revutsky writes, was obliged to agitate for change, influence his audience, and stir them to view critically the changes in all spheres of society introduced by the Bolshevik regime. Revutsky clearly depicts Berezil's preoccupation with a myriad of questions affecting the Ukraine: those pertaining to the economic upheaval; questions of power, revolutionary romanticism; the masking of Russian chauvinism under the guise of internationalism; and the artist in a so-called Marxist society.

It is unfortunate that Revutsky did not see fit to digress occasionally and draw parallels with the contemporary political theater in the West. For example, a brief description of Brecht's *Verfremdungseffekt* and Kurbas's theory of *peretvorenia*, would have underscored that technically Berezil' had much in common with West European theater but possessed a different view of the operation of Marxism. Brecht used his technique to raise worker consciousness, whereas Kurbas focused on the operation of a "so-called workers' state." Also, even a slight comparison between actors in the West and Hirniak's use of the grotesque and hyperbolization would have helped to extract the discussion of Hirniak's acting from the narrow confines of the Ukraine and the Soviet bloc and to place it in the broader European context.

Revutsky does deal with a larger European context when he talks about Hirniak's production of *Hamlet* at the Lviv Opera Theater in 1943, in which the performance of the lead actor (V. Blavatsky) is compared to those of the German actors Willi Birghel and Rudolf Fernau and the 1947 production of Lesia Ukrainka's *Orgia*, directed by O. Dobrovol's'ka, is compared to the production of Racine's *Phaedra* at the Munich State Theater. Unfortunately, he does not apply the same scheme when explaining the Berezil' period.

Revutsky undoubtedly possesses a vast knowledge of world as well as Ukrainian theater history. He introduces each play produced at Berezil' within a historical context, summarizes the plots, and identifies the typical style. Making use of primary sources, extensive interviews with Hirniak, as well as a plethora of secondary material, mainly reviews, Revutsky has organized the material into a coherent, readable body of information, allowing the Western reader to glimpse the full picture of the development of Ukrainian theater within the confines of a Russian Bolshevik ideology. Professor Revutsky's book is an invaluable foundation and source for future scholars of the Berezil' Theater.

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THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH: A CONTEMPORARY HISTORY. By *Jane Ellis*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1986. 531 pp.

For those wishing to understand contemporary Ukrainian Christianity, a knowledge of the Russian Orthodox church is indispensable. A remarkably large number of Orthodox seminarians, clergy, and bishops in the USSR are Ukrainian. As the author of *The Russian Orthodox Church: A Contemporary History* points out, about half the functioning churches in the country are in the Ukraine (p. 18). Ukrainians form the greatest concentration of the 30 to 50 million Orthodox believers in the Soviet Union. Furthermore, the Ukraine is the "bulwark of monastic life in the USSR" (p. 125).

Jane Ellis, Keston College's expert on the Russian Orthodox church, exhibits an informed appreciation of the Ukrainian aspects of her subject. For example, in reporting the efforts of the Council on Religious Affairs to limit the number of Western Ukrainians entering Russian Orthodox seminaries, she notes the persistence of clandestine Eastern-rite Catholicism in that region (p. 110). In remarking on the Ukrainians' numerical weight in the church, she points out that despite this fact, on the whole they have not had access to the Bible in their own language since 1917 (chapter 6). The author is no stranger to the fact that to Ukrainians, the Moscow Patriarchate is "a willing instrument of russification and as such, is fiercely resented" (p. 18).

This clearly written volume covers the postwar era, with emphasis on the last two decades. Part 1 deals with fundamental topics like churches and dioceses, parishes, laity, clergy and bishops, and church and state. Part 2 focuses on Orthodox dissent from the 1960s to 1985. The time frame and emphases distinguish this book's coverage from that of Dimitry Pospielovsky's *The Russian Church under the Soviet Regime, 1917–1982* (1984).

Appendices to some of the chapters—such as the lists of bishops after chapter 8 and the Statute of the Council for Religious Affairs appended to chapter 9—help make this a useful reference work as well as a history. In addition to the copious notes there is a bibliography of a dozen pages in fine print, listing not only books and articles but archives (including *samizdat* collections), legislation, and a list of relevant periodicals. The latter omits the Ukrainian-language *Pravoslavnyj visnyk* (Kiev), though it is mentioned in the text (p. 149). The book concludes with an ample index.

The paradoxical subtitle, "A Contemporary History," suggests the difficulty of treating the recent past and the present in a scholarly and objective manner. As far as can be determined to date, the author has overcome this problem, balancing direct experience and observation with detachment and judgment. Although obviously sympathetic to religious believers in the USSR, she treats the often sparse and conflicting evidence with circumspection. Miss Ellis exhibits the feeling for Orthodox spirituality that is necessary for a proper evaluation of Orthodox church history and contemporary affairs. Close analysis of the data compiled in thorough and apparently exhaustive research has yielded what is probably the fullest account available of current Russian Orthodox life in the Soviet Union.

As a result of the extraordinary changes that have taken place in the USSR since 1985, this work is already out of date in some details. The defect is minor. Jane Ellis's *Russian Orthodox Church* is sure to remain the definitive work on the subject for many years.

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TSERKVA V RUINI. By *Oleh Volodymyr Iwanusiv*. Shevchenko Scientific Society Ukrainian Studies, 56. St. Catherine's, Ontario: "St. Sophia" Religious Association of Ukrainian Catholics in Canada, 1987. 351 pp.

The author of this bilingual (Ukrainian and English) volume has undertaken a monumental task. In seeking to present a photographic album of Ukrainian churches in southeastern Poland, a record of their decay and destruction, a historical background, and an indictment of irresponsible or malicious authorities, he accomplishes only part of his task.

Iwanusiv's book documents the state of wooden churches, most of which were built for use by Ukrainian (Greek) Catholics, in what is now southeastern Poland. The inclusion of Orthodox churches (e.g., on page 303) is justifiable because architecturally they belong to the same traditions. Including Latin-rite Catholic churches built in a different style (pp. 302, 303), however, makes little sense (for instance, the photograph on page 304 of the Ukrainian Catholic parish church of St. Barbara in Vienna, which has no architectural or geographical links with the churches to which the book is dedicated, is quite out of place). Although the style of these churches extends both eastward into present Soviet Ukrainian territory and southward into Slovakia and Transcarpathia, the peculiar nature of the maltreatment of the churches covered in this book, involving deliberate neglect by government and ecclesiastical authorities as well as vandalism by local colonists, may justify limiting coverage to the state borders of the People's Republic of Poland (besides, the author may have been so limited by practical considerations). In that case, however, his studious avoidance of Polish place-names is curious. Thus, in the index of localities we find three versions of each place-name—"Latin," Ukrainian (in Cyrillic), and English—yet the Polish version needed to find the place on most maps is not provided. Whatever the motives or moral justification, such eccentric nomenclature belongs in a political tract, not a serious work of documentation or reference.

The brief history of the region (pp. 11–21) is tendentious and contains many errors and omissions that further undercut what could have been an eloquent record of injustice. It does make the essential point that the architectural preservation of these churches is a function of politics and, especially, religious policy: the forced resettlement of the Ukrainian population in the 1940s left the churches to the mercy of the elements and often hostile or indifferent Polish settlers, while the ambiguous status of the Ukrainian Catholic church in Poland often obstructs their use or preservation.

The list of bishops of Peremyshl' (Przemyśl; pp. 21–22) is handy, and the statistics on the number of churches destroyed or turned to other uses are important. Information on the numbers and percentages of churches dedicated to various saints (pp. 22–23) provide an unexpected and welcome insight into the spirituality of the region's inhabitants.

The bulk of the book (pp. 25–305) consists of photographs of churches and accompanying text. The dates of the churches' construction are provided. The material is divided into three parts. Part 1 comprises the former Lemko Apostolic Administration, which was carved out of the Peremyshl' eparchy in 1934. It is subdivided by deanery. Part 2 covers the part of the eparchy of Peremyshl', Sambir, and Sianyk (as it was after 1934) now within the Polish borders, and is also subdivided by deanery. These sections are particularly valuable because they provide detailed information on the churches and the priests who served in them. The churches' present use—sometimes as Latin-rite Catholic churches, sometimes as storehouses or, in one case (p. 200) as the regional state archive—is noted. The information is not always accurate or complete. For example, the church in Gładyszów (p. 56) was built in 1938, not 1940, and although it is true that it was turned over to the Roman Catholic church, it was not given to it "for use by

Ukrainian Catholics'' except on an occasional basis. Part 3, mysteriously titled ''Non-Existing and Other Churches,'' portrays churches beyond the proper scope of the book as well as those that have been destroyed—the latter being a particularly important inclusion that should have been incorporated within parts 1 and 2. The drawings on pages 302–335 depict churches not photographed, although in some cases they provide simply a different view (e.g., the church at Obarym, photograph p. 118, drawing p. 313). These, too, should have been included within parts 1 and 2.

The one-page bibliography, with 37 entries, is adequate for a book for the general reader. The index of localities, while suffering from the above-mentioned taboo on Polish place-names, is usefully keyed to the map which comes with the volume. The map itself is large, detailed, and easy to read. It could have been improved, however, with an indication of the deaneries of the Peremyshl' eparchy, and with an indication of the borders of the Lemko Apostolic Administration.

The author's use of ''tserkva'' and ''kostel'' to distinguish Greek-rite and Latin-rite Catholic churches provides clarity at the expense of grace. The use of two systems of transliteration—one for maps, the other for text—would be puzzling enough without the failure to adhere to them consistently. Better format and design could have made a presentable book truly beautiful.

The color photographs are the book's finest feature. Particularly eloquent are those which document the delapidation or destruction of churches. The photograph on page 137, for example, shows a metal cross lying on the ground, virtually all that is left of the church of Kolonych, built in the 1930s.

While *Church in Ruins* does not qualify as a history of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic church in southeastern Poland, it does contain many interesting historical details. While it is not a treatise on church architecture in this region, it provides valuable documentation. As a study of governmental and ecclesiastical policies it is strident and incomplete. But as an indictment of the neglect and outright vandalism that have been visited upon the churches depicted, it is provocative, and as a lyrical depiction of these perishing treasures it is invaluable.

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RELIGION AND NATIONALISM IN EASTERN EUROPE AND THE SOVIET UNION. Edited by *Dennis J. Dunn.* Boulder, Colorado and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1987. 128 + xi pp. $23.50.

The study of the relationship between religion and nationalism is not altogether new. Thus the present work will not, as the editor suggests in his introduction, open a debate on the subject. It should, however, stimulate further discussion in an important but neglected field.

This slim volume is a collection of six papers delivered at the Third World Congress for Soviet and East European Studies. Of over 600 papers given at that meeting, which took place in Washington, D.C. on 30 October–4 November 1985, 160 are to be published in fifteen volumes (listed on pp. 127–28 of the book under review). The entire series, under the general editorship of R. C. Elwood, comprises five volumes in the social sciences, five in history and literature, and five in other fields. Only the volume under review is concerned specifically with religion and nationalism.

The book's editor, Dennis J. Dunn, is also the author of the first essay. In a broad discussion of religion and nationalism in Eastern Europe, he shows how eighteenth- and nineteenth-century prejudices about the role of religion have blinded many twentieth-century scholars to its historical importance. He next explores the varying relationship between nationalism and religion, particularly in Europe, and argues convincingly that the topic has not received its due.

In the next essay, Edward D. Wynot traces Polish-Jewish relations from 1918 to 1939. His rather narrow focus on Polish antisemitism, as opposed to the everyday coexistence of Poles and Jews, does have the merit of yielding insights into the politics of the Second Republic, and underscores interwar Poland's costly failure to fashion a humane and effective minorities policy.

Fred Hahn's article on the Jews of Bohemia and Moravia from the late nineteenth century up to 1938 paints a detailed picture of the national and cultural milieu that produced Kafka, Max Brod, and other figures of international stature. The Jews' position between the dominant German and the renascent Czech cultures echoes their situation in other East European lands. Hahn's account of the Jews' cultural and linguistic assimilation, and in some cases their return to Jewish cultural values, could usefully be compared with the experiences of ethnic minorities in other cultures.

The following article traces the rise and fall of Russian Orthodox interest in the Old Catholic movement, which arose in reaction to the Vatican Council of 1870 and its doctrine of papal infallibility. The brief Russian courtship was over by 1900. At first glance, the importance of his subject might be questioned, but John D. Basil's study is useful precisely because it shows how theology—in this case, the *filioque*—can limit a politically motivated inter-church rapprochement. It is also an intriguing insight into Russian Orthodox perceptions of Catholicism and the relationship between religion and domestic and foreign policy in Russia.

Jure Krišto's meticulous exploration of mutual perceptions and attitudes of Croatian Catholics and Marxists after World War II echoes the situation elsewhere in modern Eastern Europe and the USSR. One is struck by the variety of communist attitudes, ranging from vulgar atheism to fairly sophisticated sociological and psychological analysis. One is also struck by the tenacity of Croatian Catholicism. The persistence of the controversy surrounding Cardinal Alojzije Stepinac, who died in 1960, suggests that the Catholic-communist division runs deep. The author's observation that the Catholic-Marxist dialogue can have practical results only if it is conducted between the respective church and party institutions rather than between scholars applies to contemporary situations far beyond Croatia.

In a remarkably dense ten pages, Bohdan R. Bociurkiw provides the definitive account in English of the suppression of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic church in the postwar USSR and Poland. Its 67 footnotes, exceeding the article itself in length, illuminate some of the murkier details of this episode and virtually constitute a separate article. Supplemented by a table (pp. 100–101) summarizing the latest available dependable data on the Greek-Catholic church in Galicia (from 1938–1943), this article illustrates the complexity that arises when nations and states backed by national churches come into conflict.

Technical perfection in a book dealing with such an exotic variety of subjects would be surprising. However, a few spelling and grammatical errors could have been weeded out. The volume does contain an index.

As the editor admits in his introduction, the essays are not balanced chronologically, geographically, or thematically, nor are they sufficiently related to produce a coherent book. Such anticipatory apologies would not be necessary were it not for a title that suggests a coherent, balanced treatment of this enormous subject. In fact, the book should be regarded—and might have been presented—as simply a random sampling of contemporary scholarship in the far-flung corners of a broad field. As such, it needs no justification. The quality of the essays and their relevance to other historical and political situations suffice to establish the volume's importance for those interested in religion, nationalism, and especially their interaction in the modern world.

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CHRONICLES

The Symon Petliura Ukrainian Library in Paris

A. JOUKOVSKY

The Symon Petliura Library, one of the oldest Ukrainian institutional societies in France, has existed, with a few short breaks, for more than sixty years. As a library of general Ukrainian studies, its aim is to facilitate research on the Ukraine, especially on the subject of twentieth-century Ukrainian statehood and on the spiritual heritage of its patron, Symon Petliura.[1] In addition to housing a book collection, the library is an archival center for material on the Ukrainian statehood of 1917–1920, a documents center, and a museum of documents and mementos pertaining to the supreme otaman Symon Petliura. As a society, the Petliura library today holds the following objectives: to facilitate research in Ukrainian studies; to conduct courses and hold lectures on Ukrainian topics; to facilitate research in the field of Ukrainian-French relations; to translate from Ukrainian into French and vice versa scientific, sociopolitical, and literary works, as well as textbooks; to publish periodical and non-periodical publications; to care for the grave of Petliura in Paris; and to organize representations and authorized representatives in cities and countries where there are communities of Ukrainians.[2] These objectives have been somewhat modified during the past sixty years, due to the different periods in the library's life—brought about by internal or external factors—of growth and decline, which contributed to the systematization of the multifaceted activities of the institution.

CREATION AND INITIAL PERIOD OF THE LIBRARY'S FORMATION (1926–1929)

In the early 1920s, Ukrainian political émigrés from Poland began to arrive in France. Their immediate task was to establish educational and cultural activities and, especially, to meet the need for the Ukrainian word in print by making newspapers, journals, and books available. Ukrainian centers were established in France (in Knutange and Homécourt), local libraries were opened, but these could not meet the needs of thousands of émigrés. Aware of those needs, the central civic organization, the General Council of the Union of Ukrainian Émigré Organizations in France (founded in 1924), decided to establish in Paris a traveling Ukrainian library. To

[1] "Statut Tovarystva Ukrains'ka Biblioteka imeny Symona Petliury v Paryzhi," 28 April 1963, p. 1, par. 3.
[2] "Statut," par. 3, sec. 1–9.

this end, the General Council appealed for help in creating such a library to Ukrainian cultural-educational organizations, scientific institutions, and the general public. This initial effort was supported by Symon Petliura, who, in April 1926, wrote an appeal, "About the Ukrainian Library in Paris,"[3] which was published at a later date. The supreme otaman's position became a guiding testament; the author of the appeal is now considered to be the initiator and founder of the library that carries his name.

After the death of Petliura, to carry out his will and to perpetuate his memory, the head of the government of the Ukrainian National Republic at that time, Viacheslav Prokopovych, took the initiative and organized the Symon Petliura Library and Museum in Paris. In the 18 July 1926 issue of *Tryzub* (no. 37-38), under the pseudonym of S. Cherepyn, he stated in his article, "A Monument Not by Hand Made":

> From the many ways with respect to this project [to perpetuate the name of Symon Petliura in a fitting manner] we would like to turn the public's attention to one way, which, it seems to us, is very to the point and needed, and which can be accomplished within our means. It is to establish the S. Petliura Library in Paris. . . . The S. Petliura Library should be in Paris. It should be for our youth, acquiring the experience of ages in the Sorbonne and assimilating the European spirit, learned from his ideas, from his life, from his death, a living love of his

[3] *Tryzub*, no. 22 (178) (25 May 1929):

Нема що довго розводитися над цією потребою. Вона зрозуміла кожному, особливо на чужині. Инші національні еміґрантські колонії мають в Парижі свої бібліотеки, книгозбірні, навіть книжні склепи, за допомогою яких і задовольняють свої потреби в рідній книжці. Поляки мають давно свою бібліотеку в кільки десятків тисяч книжок. Росіяне також, крім старої Тургенівської, мають низку новітніх бібліотек. Те саме можна сказати про грецьку колонію, про румунську і инші. Ми, українці, такої потрібної й корисної інституції покищо не маємо. І натуральна річ, відчуваємо всі хиби, що випливають з цього.

Очевидна річ, що утворення бібліотеки може бути переведено в значній мірі засобами доброчинної допомоги книжками, періодичними виданнями та газетами з боку ріжних українських установ, видавничих підприємств та окремих громадян, що розуміють культурно-національну вагу цієї справи. До патріотизму жертводавців одночасно з цим Генеральна Рада і звертається, бажаючи не відкладати справи та покласти перші початки для майбутньої бібліотеки.

Українська бібліотека повинна бути утворена, і всі хто почуває себе свідомим, організованим членом нашої еміґраційної громади, повинен вжити всіх засобів, щоб допомогти створенню цієї потрібної і пекучої культурної установи.

Ми кличемо в першу чергу всіх наших громадян, на еміґрації у Франції сущих, відгукнутися на заклик у цій справі і допомогти здійснити його. Присилайте непотрібні вам книжки і видання: вони будуть першими підвалинами майбутньої української бібліотеки в Парижі, яка буде обслуговувати потреби всієї української еміґрації на терені Франції в рідній, своїй книжці, в рідному друкованому слові. Ваш приклад викличе наслідування з боку ширших кругів нашого громадянства,—таким чином справа утворення бібліотеки може посунутися наперед і стати вже на реальний ґрунт. Від здійснення ініціятиви з утворенням центральної бібліотеки для цілої нашої еміґрації, перебуваючої на терені Франції, ми матимемо зайву корисну інституцію, що надасть всім нам—еміґрантам—і більшої організованости, і більшої змоги почувати себе культурними людьми та загартувати себе від денаціоналізуючого впливу, якому завжди підпадає еміґрант, коли він губить живий зв'язок з рідним друкованим словом.

homeland. . . . And the West would see how we honor our great people. . . ."[4]

The question of establishing the Symon Petliura Ukrainian Library in Paris was first raised during the organizing meeting to form a "Symon Petliura Memorial Committee in Paris," which took place in Paris on 13 June 1926, with the participation of the following representatives of various organizations: Isaak Baziak and Mykola Shul'hyn of the Ukrainian Community in Paris; General Mykola Shapoval and Ivan Stasiv of the Ukrainian Community in France; Mykola Honchariv from the General Council of the Union of Ukrainian Émigré Organizations in France; Viacheslav Prokopovych from the editorial board of *Tryzub*; General Oleksander Udovychenko of the Higher Church Council; Oleksa Petrenko of the Ukrainian Student Community in France; Mrs. Ielysaveta Myshkivs'ka and Oksana Tokarzhevs'ka from the Ukrainian Women's Charitable Committee; Kyrylo Mykolaichuk from the Ukrainian National Choir; and Pavlo Lubenets' from the Ukrainian Evangelical Federation. V. Prokopovych described the committee's goal: to work to establish the Symon Petliura Museum and Library in Paris by acquiring the film of his funeral and by purchasing furnishings from the apartment where Petliura had last resided. The following individuals were chosen to form the committee's presidium: chairman—General O. Udovychenko; vice-chairman—I. Tokarzhevs'kyi-Karashevych; members—Ielysaveta Myshkivs'ka, General M. Kapustians'kyi, and I. Baziak. The committee *inter alia* resolved:

> to establish the Symon Petliura Museum and Library in Paris to honor fittingly the memory of the decedent. The museum and library will serve as a center in which will be concentrated and where will be conducted cultural-national activity abroad, the decedent being a sincere and devoted adherent of such activity, and such activity is needed now and will be needed in the future. . . .[5]

The library was originally housed on the premises of *Tryzub* at 19, rue de Gobelins, Paris 13. The first librarian was Ivan Rudychiv, who began organizing the library in March 1927. *Tryzub* moved in October 1927 to 42, rue Denfert-Rochereau, Paris 5, and the library moved also. The Symon Petliura Museum was organized in May 1928 when the furnishings from the supreme otaman's apartment at 7, rue Thénard, as well as other items connected with him, were displayed: these included the death masks of face and hand, photographic portraits, the film of the funeral, photographs from the funeral, ribbons from numerous wreaths, telegrams and letters of condolence, materials and documents compiled by the court commission, etc.

On 10 February 1928, the Petliura Memorial Committee adopted a constitution; the association was to be an independent organization, with the provision that the library would remain in Paris in perpetuity, while the museum would be moved to Kiev when the political situation warranted it. Based on this constitution, the

[4] S. Cherepyn [V. Prokopovych], "Pam"iatnyk nerukotvornyi. Z istorii Biblioteky," *Informatsiinyi biuleten'* 10, no. 20 (May 1968): 2.

[5] P. Iosypyshyn, "Zasnuvannia Ukrains'koi Biblioteky i Muzeiu im. Symona Petliury v Paryzhi," *Informatsiinyi biuleten'* 19, no. 38 (May 1977): 3.

Library Association was to be ruled by a council of five founding members, elected individually. If and when a founding member ceased to be a member, the remaining members were to elect a new member. Founding members were to direct the library for life. Originally, three founding members were elected: Viacheslav Prokopovych, as the library's initiator, Oleksander Shul'hyn, representative of the government of the Ukrainian National Republic, and General Oleksander Udovychenko, representative of the S. Petliura Memorial Committee in France. Ilarion Kosenko, administrator of the journal *Tryzub,* was subsequently elected to the society's council, and Ivan Rudychiv was appointed librarian. The council's functions were divided as follows: V. Prokopovych—chairman, I. Kosenko—vice-chairman and treasurer, O. Udovychenko—secretary.[6] The library was registered with the Paris Prefecture on 4 May 1929, and permission for its legal existence was announced in the government publication, *Journal officiel* (no. 142, 19 June 1929).

The library fund grew rapidly: in May 1928 the library already had 1,100 books, and by the end of 1928, 1,400. The space at *Tryzub* became insufficient and, as of February 1929, the library rented its own quarters at 11, square du Port-Royal, Paris 13, which consisted of three rooms: the museum, the book collection, and the reading room and librarian's quarters.

On the second anniversary of its existence, the library council announced that May 25 would be the meeting-day for the library. On 26 May 1929, the Symon Petliura Library-Museum in Paris was officially opened. Representatives from Ukrainian organizations of Paris and France were invited; among these were the Reverend P. Hrechyshkyn, M. Shumyts'kyi, M. Shul'hyn, P. Vasyliv, S. Nechai, M. Koval's'kyi, M. Antonenko, I. Batsutsa, I. Popovych, Iu. Nahliuk, and others. On behalf of the founders and the library council (V. Prokopovych, O. Shul'hyn, O. Udovychenko, I. Kosenko, I. Rudychiv), V. Prokopovych welcomed the guests and described the institution's aims:

> For the library there exist no borders, ideologies, parties, groups, or movements. The library stands and will stand above them all. There should be in it every word written in the Ukrainian language, so that the reader himself may construct a true and real picture of our country. In it should also be every word written about the Ukraine in foreign languages.[7]

The festivities on the occasion of the library's opening included greetings by representatives of Ukrainian organizations and personages from France, Poland, Western Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Switzerland—seventy-five greetings in all. The librarian, I. Rudychiv, subsequently conducted the assembled guests around the library's facilities—the reading room, the book and journal collection, and the museum room.

THE PERIOD OF EXPANSION, 1929–1940

After the three years of preparation and the official opening of the library for public use, there began a period of more than ten years in which the library achieved

6 P. Iosypyshyn, "Zasnuvannia," p. 3
7 *Tryzub*, no. 23 (179) (2 June 1929).

brilliant growth and received the recognition of both the Ukrainian community and foreigners. In April 1932, the library council issued an appeal to the Ukrainian public in which it announced that 10,000 books, as well as many newsprint issues and museum items, had been collected during the first four years, and asked for further financial support for the institution, located "in Paris, the world's cultural and political center, where the destinies of many people were forged. . . ."[8]

During the 1930s, the library established its representations in the Ukrainian émigré centers. The library's representatives helped in collecting books in their countries of domicile and sent them to Paris; they, too, conducted fund-raising activities to meet the library's needs. By 1933, there were representatives in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Germany, Romania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Italy, Switzerland, Austria, Turkey, the United States, and Canada. In addition to its representations, the library had five branches: four in France (Vésines-Chalette, Audun-le-Tiche, Lyon, and Grenoble) and one in Esch, Luxembourg. Thanks to the generosity of the Ukrainian public, library funds grew steadily. In May 1933, the library in Paris held 10,146 books and the branches held approximately 2,000, for a total of about 12,000 books. Almost one-half of the books were in foreign languages. The majority were donated by institutions and individuals. Thus, the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv donated its publications (a few hundred), and the National Museum in Lviv its publications on church art. In 1930, the widow of Ambassador Eudes Charles Bonin donated 2,018 valuable books to the library.[9] In addition to its

8 *Informatsiinyi biuleten'*, 10, no. 20 (May 1968), p. 3.

9 A listing of the donation, in the archives of the library, reads as follows:

Ce lot avait en tout—2.018 volumes.

En plus, il y avait 1.340 différentes revues en plusieurs langues (français, allemand, anglais), plusieurs albums et éditions d'art, ainsi que des atlas géographiques et historiques.

Parmi ces éditions qui traitaient l'histoire de France, l'histoire du Moyen et Extrême Orient il y avait des éditions datant de 1622.

On a trouvé la trace des éditions suivantes qui composaient ce lot.

"Iconographie Romaine et Grecque" – édition de 1824
Clark – "Voyages en Russie, Tartarie et Turquie". 2 tomes. Paris 1812
Beauplan – "Description de l'Ukraine—pays des Cosaques". Paris 1861
Byron – "Les oeuvres". Paris 1835
Czinski – "Le Kosak". Paris 1836
Demidoff – "Voyage dans la Russie Méridionale et la Crimée". Paris 1854
Islavnic – "Bassin du Donetz". St Petersbourg 1881 (en russe)
Kubelski – "Voyage entre la Baltique et la Mer Noire". Tours 1867
"Les origines slaves" – "Pologne et Ruthénie". Paris 1861
Rambaud – "L'Ukraine et ses chansons historiques". Paris 1875
Salvaudi – "Histoire du Roi Jean Sobieski". T. I et II. Paris 1856
Scherer – "Annales de la Petite-Russie ou histoire des Cosaques Zaporogues". T. I et II. Paris 1788
Cellarius – Regni Poloniae magnifica, Ducatus Lithuaniae. 1659
Bosielovitz – "Brevis Notitia fundationis Kariatovitz." Caisoniae 1799
Bugis-Beleyson – "Les intrigues moscovites en Turquie". Budapest 1877
"Histoire et les aventures des Keminski". Paris 1697
Kuklinski – "Spis rycerstwa Polskiego". (en polonais) 1683

books, the library received seventy-four periodicals, sixty-one of which were in Ukrainian, and held a large collection of photographs and paintings (1,340) and valuable archival material.

The library received its initial funds from the Paris Petliura Memorial Committee (Fr 10,000), from donations made by the government of the Ukrainian National Republic (Fr 37,000), and from private donations (Fr 50,000). The private donations were primarily from Ukrainians living in France, and later from Ukrainians in Galicia-Volhynia, Poland, Romania, and Czechoslovakia.

As the library funds increased, so did the archives and the number of museum pieces; the space in the rooms at the Port-Royal address became insufficient. The library then rented five rooms at 41, rue de la Tour d'Auvergne, Paris 9, which were used as museum, reading room, book collection, council chairman's office and librarian's room, and press room and administration of *Tryzub*. All the documents from this period continue to note that the library is to remain in Paris, while the museum "will be moved at the first opportunity to Kiev, where a 'Separate Department in Memory of S. Petliura' of the Ukrainian National Museum would be established."[10]

In addition to its book collection, the library had an extensive collection of periodicals (Ukrainian newspapers from 1905–1907 and 1917–1920), a collection of maps of the Ukraine, paintings and engravings, portraits of famous Ukrainian and foreign activists who helped the Ukrainian cause, photographs and paintings of

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Mac Coty – "Dictionnaire géographique universel". Paris 1824
Marbot – "Mémoires". Paris 1891
Margaret – "Estats de l'Empire de Russie et du Grand Duché de Moscovie". 1860
Pichot – "Histoire de Charles Edouard". Paris 1845
Patin – "Etudes sur les tragédies grecques". Paris 1856
Crasso – "Elegii Venezia." 1683 (en italien-latin)
Acci Plauti Comoediae – tomes 1, 2, 3 et 4. Paris 1658
"Relations de voyages en Orient". Paris 1843
"Le Panlatinisme—confédération gallo-latine et celto-gauloise". Paris 1860
"La vérité sur les Bonaparte". Paris 1899
"Mémoires sur le règne de Napoléon". Tomes 1, 2 et 3. Paris 1883
"Biographies artistiques". 1862
"Traité sur le commerce de la Mer Noire". Paris 1787
"Légation Russe en Pologne 1673–1677". St. Pétersbourg 1854 (en russe)

Dans ce lot il y avait aussi les articles de M. Eudes Charles BONIN (tirage à part, extraits des revues, plaquettes) sur différents sujets. Par exemple:

"Le royaume des neiges" (Histoire des Etats Himalayens)
"Les sources de la Rivière Rouge"
"Le Tombeau de Tchinguiss-Khan"
"Panislamisme"
"Les mahométans en Kan-Sou"
"Le Transfert de la capitale des Indes à Delhi"
"Organisation des Etudes Orientales au Portugal".

10 "Statut. Ukrains'ka Biblioteka imeny Symona Petliury v Paryzhi," amendments of 1929, 1951, and 1963.

Ukrainian landscapes, materials and artifacts of Ukrainian ethnography and folklore (Easter eggs, embroideries, wooden artifacts), a display of Ukrainian military uniform appurtenances, posters, signs, concert and art exhibit programs, and a collection of Ukrainian and foreign banknotes and stamps.

A separate department held the archives of Ukrainian missions and legations, Ukrainian state institutions, as well as émigré organizations. A separate cabinet housed the archives of the Schwartzbard trial. These archival documents were located in the office of the council chairman and the librarian. Rare items were also kept in the office. These included: the Cossack Register of 1649, *Istoriia Rusov*, Beauplan's *Description d'Ukranie*, *Histoire de Charles XII, roi de Suède* by Voltaire, the two-volume *Annales de la Petite-Russie* by Jean-Benoît Scherer, Pylyp Orlyk's *Pacta et constitutiones* (donated by V. Prokopovych), the *Ukrains'ka zahal'na encyklopediia*, the Brockhaus and Efron encyclopedia, and valuable books donated by Ambassador Charles Bonin (among them, *Iconographie grecque et romaine* by Visconti, 1824).[11]

In addition to its mission as a library, the Petliura Library served as a civic organization and arranged many lectures and programs on historical, literary, and sociopolitical themes. The most important of these events were:

1929: Commemoration of Ie. Chykalenko, with speakers V. Prokopovych and O. Shul'hyn. Lectures: "Skasuvannia magdeburz'koho prava v Kyievi" by V. Prokopovych; "Pro formatsiiu ukrains'koi natsii" by O. Shul'hyn; "Ukrains'ka mova ta ii mistse sered inshykh slov''ians'kykh mov" by Modest Levyts'kyi.

1930: Lectures: "Pro z''izd slov''ians'kykh heohrafiv i etnohrafiv" (held in Yugoslavia), by Vadym Shcherbakivs'kyi; "Pro borot'bu za nezalezhnist' Spoluchenykh Shtativ Ameryky" by A. Margolin; "Pro rozvytok modernoi natsii" by O. Shul'hyn.

1931: Lecture: "Frantsuz'ke Tovarystvo Ukrainoznavstva" by I. Tokarzhevs'kyi. Commemoration of Petro Kholodnyi, with speakers V. Prokopovych and I. Kosenko. Exhibition of photographs about Symon Petliura and events during the fight for independence.

1932: In commemoration of the 300th anniversary of the birth of Hetman Ivan Mazepa, the library organized exhibits of publications, portraits, pictures, and maps associated with Mazepa. Exhibit of the painter Leonid Perfets'kyi.

1933: Lectures: "Drahomanov—iak polityk" by O. Shul'hyn; "Ustrii Ukrains'koi Tserkvy v XV–XVIII st." by V. Leontovych; "Het'man Pylyp Orlyk" by I. Tokarzhevs'kyi-Karashevych; "Vasyl' Horlenko—krytyk i etnohraf" by D. Doroshenko; "Ukrains'ke tserkovne budivnytstvo" and "Vydubets'kyi manastyr" by V. Prokopovych; "Ukrains'kyi arkhitekturnyi styl'" by M. Shumyts'kyi; "Pro Ukrains'ku Hospodars'ku Akademiiu v Podiebradakh" by L. Bych. On 29 November 1933, the Ukrainian Community in Paris organized in the library a meeting of mourning and protest against the famine in the Ukraine (speakers: V. Prokopovych, O. Shul'hyn, M. Shumyts'kyi, and I. Kosenko).

[11] *Informatsiinyi biuleten'* 9, no. 18 (May 1967), p. 1; 10, no. 19 (January 1968), p. 2; 19, no. 38 (May 1977), p. 1.

1935: Lectures: on Iu. Fed'kovych by the Reverend I. Bryndzan; on V. Leontovych and V. Bidnov by O. Shul'hyn; "Sfragistychni anekdoty," "Pechat' malorosiiskaia," "Ievanheliia arabs'koiu movoiu vydanu koshtom het'm. I. Mazepy," "Vichne piddanstvo—pro z"iednannia Ukrainy z Rosiieiu," and a lecture on Stanyslav Dnistrians'kyi by V. Prokopovych; on Ukrainian heraldry by I. Tokarzhevs'kyi-Karashevych; "Zelenyi Klyn" by I. Kosenko.

1936: Lectures: on the author of *Istorii Rusov* by A. Iakovlev; on M. Drahomanov's political propaganda abroad by O. Shul'hyn. Meeting honoring the fortieth anniversary of the scholarly work of O. Lotots'kyi and in memory of M. Levyts'kyi. On the tenth anniversary of Petliura's death, an exhibit of books and objects connected with his life and the period of the struggle for national liberation was organized.

1937: Lectures: on the Kiev Mohyla Academy and on education in the Ukraine during the reign of Catherine II by S. Siropolk; "Problemu vozhdia" by M. Slavins'kyi. Special exhibition organized and dedicated to the 250th anniversary of Ivan Mazepa's assumption of power as hetman. The library helped the Ukrainian Society of Friends of the League of Nations organize an exhibit on the Ukrainian press for the Paris World's Fair.

The book resources of the library continued to grow steadily during these years. Whereas on 26 May 1929 the library held 1,400 books, 11,092 books were registered during 1929–1936 and 1,966 books during 1936–1941. Thus, by 1 January 1941, the library held 14,458 books, 8,042 of which were in Ukrainian and 6,416 in foreign languages. There were more than 6,000 unregistered books and the branch libraries held over 3,000 books.[12] The library regularly received 143 periodicals, 118 of which were in Ukrainian.

The number of visitors to the library fluctuated between 500 and 1,200 per year; during the first seven years there was a total of 5,176 visitors who checked out 7,190 books.

There were other signs of the library's growth and vitality. To raise the research and scholarly level of the library, Professors Stepan Smal'-Stots'kyi and Oleksander Lotots'kyi were elected honorary members. The library, represented by V. Prokopovych, took part in the Second International Congress of Libraries, organized by the International Federation of Associations of Librarians, which took place in Madrid May 20-30, 1935. And, the library was listed in the Paris university guide, *Livre de l'étudiant*, in the German guide, *Minerva*, and in the guide to Paris libraries.

The library continued to fulfill its function as one of the centers of Ukrainian life in Paris. Its facilities were used as a meeting-place by many Ukrainian organizations—the Ukrainian Community in Paris, the Ukrainian Student Community, the Association of Former Combatants of the Army of the Ukrainian National Republic in France, the Orthodox Church Council, the Association of Friends of Ukrainian Scouting, the Sadovs'kyi Drama Club, the Club of Ukrainian Studies ("Le Cercle d'Etudes Ukrainiennes"; organized in 1930 and in which many French activists collaborated), and the Prometheus Club ("Club Prométhée"). The

12 "Arkhivni materiialy Biblioteky. Knyzhkovyi fond" (typescript), p. 93.

Ukrainian children's school held classes in the library on Sundays; children's holidays were also held there.

The editorial board of *Tryzub* moved from its quarters at Denfert-Rochereau to the library facilities in October 1936.

In 1938, when the international situation worsened and war threatened, the library council took steps to move the library to Switzerland. In August 1938, the librarian, I. Rudychiv, traveled to Geneva where, together with Ie. Bachyns'kyi, he began negotiations with the Geneva City Council to find a location in the city for the library. The city council agreed to place the museum in the city as long "as it had a general folkloric character" rather than a political one. Rental of a separate building, however, required the sum of Sfr 25,000, an amount not within the means of the library or its Ukrainian supporters. In an attempt to protect some of the Petliura Library resources and archives in the face of increasing international tension, all newspapers from before 1940 (about two tons), duplicate copies of *Tryzub*, bulletins of the press bureau in French, duplicate copies of books, and documents of the diplomatic mission of the Ukrainian National Republic in Paris, and some archives were moved in the early part of 1939 to 24, rue de la Glacière, Paris 13, where the mission and the press bureau had been located earlier. With the events of war approaching Paris, the library council turned, in May 1940, to the Paris National Library with a request for its help with the protection and safekeeping of the Petliura Library, if the need arose. Political hostilities developed with such speed that the National Library administration did not know how to secure even its own resources.

THE LIBRARY DURING THE GERMAN OCCUPATION, 1940–1944

During the entire prewar period of 1929–1940, the library council remained unchanged: V. Prokopovych—chairman; I. Kosenko—vice-chairman and treasurer; General O. Udovychenko—secretary; O. Shul'hyn—member; and I. Rudychiv—librarian and curator of the museum. Before the arrival of German troops in Paris on 14 June 1940, the library council decided that all its members, except I. Rudychiv, should leave Paris, which they did; however, by 15 July 1940, all the council members but V. Prokopovych had returned to Paris.

Everything remained as before in the library and the museum (except that Petliura's revolver was taken to England by Captain S. Nahnybida). The librarian, I. Rudychiv, and the painter, L. Perfets'kyi, who helped out in the library, continued to live at the rue de la Tour d'Auvergne address. The library was closed for a time, but from July 1940 on, following general orders from the German government to all institutions in France, the reading room was opened and the cataloging of books and journals, which continued to arrive from the United States and South America, proceeded. The administration of the weekly, *Tryzub*, and a new institution—the Ukrainian Community Committee, established in 1939—were still located in the library.

In September 1939, the Ukrainian Community Committee issued a declaration, political in content, which included the statement "We—together with France, England, and Poland"—a declaration that was made known to the Germans. Following

this declaration of allegiance, German officials visited the library's quarters at 24, rue de la Glacière and removed ten, and, later, fifteen more, large cases of the library's property. The quarters were then sealed. Hearing about this robbery from the concierge, I. Rudychiv lodged a complaint with the local French Police Commissariat. On 22 July 1940, German officers and armed soldiers came to the main library facility at 41, rue de la Tour d'Auvergne, made a detailed inspection of all the rooms of the library and museum, and inquired about the leadership of the library (V. Prokopovych and others). Many other German officials visited the library later, looked over its resources, and asked questions about its past and its connection with the government of the Ukrainian National Republic. Oleksander Sevriuk came from Berlin, implying that the Germans wished to help the library financially. O. Shul'hyn was arrested by the Germans in September 1940, and on 22 October 1940, the Germans sealed the library facilities. I. Rudychiv was given permission to remove his personal belongings and necessary administrative records: the inventory book, the charge-out book (in order "to collect borrowed books"), official papers, and money. On all doors were posted sheets of paper with the stamp: "Geheime Feldpolizei. Gruppe 540. 22.X.1940" (Secret Field Police. Group 540. 22 October 1940).[13] And, on 13 December 1940, German authorities affixed on the doors a poster with the statement: "Die Petljura-Bibliothek und das Petljura Museum sind unter deutsche Schutz genommen worden. . . . " (The Petliura Library and Petliura Museum have been placed under German protection. . . .). The library's bank account with the Crédit Lyonnais, which contained the amount of Fr 21,253, was frozen.

Several protests were made against the closing of the library. On 13 October 1940, M. Shumyts'kyi, chairman of the Union of Ukrainian Émigré Organizations in France, protested to the German ambassador; on October 18, the representative of the Ukrainian National Union in France, O. Boikiv, submitted a memorandum protesting the closing to the German military headquarters in Paris. The library council (O. Udovychenko, I. Kosenko, and I. Rudychiv) stated at its meeting on 24 January 1941 that it did not empower anyone to make statements, and that it was not necessary for the council itself to approach the occupying power regarding the closing of the library and the confiscation of its property.

On 20 January 1941, German officers and civilians, with a group of fifteen workers, came to the library and began to pack the contents of the library and the museum. They filled over one hundred boxes, which they loaded on trucks and hauled away to 45-47, rue La Bruyère, where their plunder was being collected. They continued, on January 24, to remove archival materials, including the archives of the Association of Former Combatants of the Army of the Ukrainian National Republic and of the Schwartzbard trial. The Germans left only the personal belongings of Rudychiv, trunks belonging to O. Koshyts', and some scholarly works of V. Prokopovych. On 15 February 1941, the library's quarters were liquidated and the remaining furnishings and belongings taken to either I. Kosenko, General O.

[13] "Arkhivni materiialy Biblioteky. Knyzhkovyi fond," p. 57.

Udovychenko, or I. Rudychiv, who was then residing with M. Shumyts'kyi (at 3, rue Grande Chaumière). Under such pressure from the German occupation authorities, the Petliura Ukrainian Library in Paris ceased to function during 1941–1944.

German authorities contended that the library was being moved to Berlin; Ivan Rudychiv was forced to go to Berlin in order to maintain it. Rudychiv arrived in Berlin on 12 June 1941, was not shown any of the library's resources, and stayed there until 27 October 1942, when he returned to Paris and reported at the library council meeting of 3 December 1942 on his "odyssey" and stay in Germany and his unfruitful attempts to locate the library.

On 7 June 1942, during the German occupation, the chairman of the library council, V. Prokopovych, died and his office was taken over by Ilarion Kosenko. The library, however, could not openly record any activity until after the German retreat from Paris in 1944.

POSTWAR ACTIVITIES OF THE LIBRARY, 1946–1958

After the end of the war, efforts began to reopen the library. The facilities at 24, rue de la Glacière became the primary location of the library, and, following the sorting out of located portions of the former library, the official reopening was held on 25 April 1946. At this time, the library had only fifty-seven books, but, in response to the council's appeals to Ukrainians in the free world, many books, newspapers, and archival materials were collected; by 1 January 1949, the library held over 2,000 Ukrainian books, 824 in foreign languages, and 144 volumes of Ucrainica.[14] The most valuable items in the library were its periodicals; in 1949 it held 272 Ukrainian journals (for a total of 2,284 items), 33 journals in Russian, and 47 in other languages. There were 165 Ukrainian newspapers covering the period 1915–1940 (13,255 items), 10 for 1941–1944 (115 items), and 33 for the post-1945 period (3,430 items).[15]

Membership of the library council was increased after the war with the inclusion of Hryhoryi Dovzhenko and Ivan Horain. The council thus included: Ilarion Kosenko—chairman since 1942; General O. Udovychenko—secretary; H. Dovzhenko—librarian; I. Rudychiv—treasurer; I. Horain and O. Shul'hyn—members.[16]

The council applied in 1944 to the French Reparations Commission for reparations for library property taken by the Germans—a total loss estimated at Fr 2,000,000. In 1946 the commission transfered 257 books to the library, and in 1948 the Art Reparations Commission found in Austria two cases of the weekly, *Tryzub*, which had been removed by German authorities from 24, rue de la Glacière. Fortunately, the Germans had not taken Ukrainian periodicals or the archival materials pertaining to the era of the struggle for liberation, the Ukrainian diplomatic mission to the 1919 peace conference in Paris, and the Ukrainian diplomatic mission in Paris, which subsequently became the foundation for and the treasure of the renewed

[14] *Ukrains'ka Biblioteka imeny Symona Petliury v Paryzhi* (Paris, 1949), p. 2.
[15] *Ukrains'ka Biblioteka imeny Symona Petliury*, p. 2.
[16] *Ukrains'ka Biblioteka imeny Symona Petliury*, p. 3.

library. The librarian, Ivan Rudychiv, had been able to preserve the inventory book, with entries of books and periodicals (about 20,000 volumes), which then enabled the library council to compile a listing of items taken by the Germans.

Most of the library's branches in France had also ceased to function during the war: branches in Lyon, Audun-le-Tiche, and Grenoble sent their books to the library in Paris; the properties of the Vésines-Chalette branch were lost and never recovered. The books from the Esch, Luxembourg, branch were taken to Germany and subsequently lost.

During 1946–1949, the library held the following public events: Commemoration of the memory of V. Prokopovych; and lectures, among which were talks on Fedir Vovk by D. Doroshenko and O. Shul'hyn, on the Central Rada by H. Dovzhenko, on the tasks of Ukrainian émigrés by I. Kosenko, "Slovo o Polku Ihorevim" by S. Paramoniv, and on Ukrainian art in the prehistoric era by O. Lahutenko.

After I. Kosenko's death on 13 October 1950, General O. Udovychenko was elected chairman and headed the library until April 1963. The librarian H. Dovzhenko and his long-time predecessor, I. Rudychiv, together conducted the library's affairs very ably until 1955, when first Rudychiv and then Dovzhenko left for the rest home in Abondant. With the absence of these two pillars, the library ceased its activities between 1955–1958. During this period, some archival materials and book resources of the library were lost.

EXPANDING THE LIBRARY'S TASKS, 1958–1987

The new period of the library's activities began in May 1958, with an appeal, issued by the presidium of the library council, entitled, "Do vs'oho ukrains'koho hromadianstva u tsilomu sviti."[17] It was stated in this appeal that the library had had "a long break" and was now to be reorganized. According to the amended constitution, the honorary chairman of the library was to be the president of the Ukrainian National Republic (Stepan Vytvyts'kyi, at that time), and the following individuals were called to membership in the council: the chairman of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, Mykhailo Vietukhiv; chairman of the Petliura Memorial Committee of America, General O. Zahrods'kyi; Mrs. Ielysaveta Prokopovych; and Varvara Luk"ianovych. The presidium of the council was enlarged by adding Mykola Koval's'kyi as secretary, Kyrylo Mykolaichuk as treasurer, and O. Shul'hyn, I. Horain, Serhii Kachura, and Iukhym Batsutsa as members. Petro Iosypyshyn was appointed librarian at the end of 1958. Following the council's reorganization, the enlarged group established as a goal the maintenance and enlargement of "the monument to Symon Petliura"—the library in Paris. To this end, in addition to the day-to-day work of completing the library and museum resources,[18] consideration was given to the acquisition of new quarters; the space on rue de la Glacière had

[17] Printed appeal of 25 May 1958, signed by the chairman of the presidium of the council O. Udovychenko, M. Vietukhiv, M. Koval's'kyi, and K. Mykolaichuk.

[18] P. Iosypyshyn, "Muzei im. Symona Petliura," *Informatsiinyi biuleten'* 21, no. 41 (May 1979), pp. 6–8.

become too cramped, with no room for new resources. From 1958 on, action was taken to obtain reparations from German authorities for the library property taken in 1941. The council commissioned the attorney Jean Gherman in Paris and German attorneys in Cologne and Berlin to undertake this action. The most difficult part in trying to obtain reparations was in presenting solid and verifiable documentation of books, periodicals, archives, museum items, and art exhibits taken by German officials. Involved in this task were M. Koval's'kyi and P. Iosypyshyn, with help from various experts; many Ukrainian individuals and organizations also took part. After a decade of wearisome and consistent effort, the German Finance Ministry and the Berlin Tribunal agreed in December 1968 to pay reparations to the library in the sum of DM 420,000, which, after payments to attorneys and court costs, left the library with the sum of Fr 408,356 (about $80,000). M. Koval's'kyi reported on the "Case of Reparations to the Library" at the extraordinary general meeting of the library on 23 September 1969.[19] The reparations funds allowed the library to acquire its own new quarters and to begin the systematic and professional work of a modern library.

A second important undertaking of the library during this period was the publication of *Informatsiinyi biuleten'*, begun in 1959. The first two issues were produced by mimeograph; subsequent issues were printed twice yearly. Forty-nine issues have appeared up to the present. *Informatsiinyi biuleten'* has been a valuable source of the library's history, as well as a contact vehicle for its membership, friends, donors, the Ukrainian press, and Ukrainian society in general. The bulletin's four to eighteen pages consist of official announcements about library activities, communiqués, listings of new members, obituaries of library activists, listings of books and other publications and materials received, listings of publications of the library, listings of monetary donations, articles on renowned visitors to and honorary members of the library (Metropolitan Mstyslav Skrypnyk, president of the Ukrainian National Republic Mykola Livyts'kyi, and others), as well as articles about the library's history and items on the history of the Ukrainian national movement, Ukrainian statehood, and activities of the supreme otaman and chairman of the Directorate, Symon Petliura. M. Koval's'kyi was the first editor of *Informatsiinyi biuleten'* and was succeeded by P. Iosypyshyn, with the collaboration of other members of the library council.

Following the library's reorganization in 1958, the council established a network of library representatives in the countries to which Ukrainians had migrated. The responsibilities of these representations were: to collect funds in their countries, to collect book resources, and to nurture the cult of Symon Petliura. The library council appointed new representatives in Austria, Germany, England, Belgium, Argentina (a branch of the library, with about 1,500 books, was established in Buenos Aires), and Brazil. Special attention was given to Canada and the United States, which held the largest concentrations of Ukrainians in the West. In addition to representatives in individual cities, it was decided to establish central representations

[19] *Informatsiinyi biuleten'* 12, no. 23 (January 1970), pp. 3–6.

in these countries. The Canadian Central Representation of the Symon Petliura Ukrainian Library in Paris was established in 1962 at a meeting of the representatives from various cities. Professor Stepan Kylymnyk became honorary chairman of the representation and Ivan Syba was elected chairman. Initially, the representation exhibited great initiative, but, over time, its activities slackened and it eventually became inactive.

In the United States, the Petliura Memorial Central Committee in America was established to undertake collections of funds for the library; from these funds monthly subsidies were sent to the library in Paris. However, because these subsidies to the library were sent irregularly, the library council decided to solicit directly from the Ukrainian public in the United States through an organized network of representatives in individual Ukrainian centers in the United States. Pavlo Chepiha was appointed chief representative to coordinate this activity. Duplicate collections by the Central Committee and by the library representatives caused unforeseen complications at the local level. An agreement was therefore reached in 1967 between the library council and the Central Committee, whereby the Central Committee became the library's central representation in the United States, while the library's representatives were to work within the framework of the Central Committee. The cooperation of these two institutions brought forth positive results by providing the library with funds. The agreement was signed by M. Shumovs'kyi, M. Koval's'kyi, and P. Iosypyshyn on behalf of the library and by A. Valiis'kyi, D. Bakum, and O. Shevchenko representing the Central Committee. In 1983, after the deaths of Valiis'kyi and Bakum, the Central Committee ceased collecting funds for the library; its effort has been continued, however, by new enthusiasts of the library, among which should be noted the Fund-Raising Committee for North America, based in Chicago and Toronto, established in May 1986 under the leadership of Halyna Hrushets'ka, with the help of two vice-chairmen of the library council, V. Markus (Chicago) and M. Pavliuk (Toronto).

Thanks to the untiring efforts of the library council, continued dissemination of information through *Informatsiinyi biuleten'*, and work by its representatives, the library grew steadily, as the following figures demonstrate. In the early 1950s, book resources included 3,000 entries, grew to 10,000 by 1958, 12,000 by 1971, 18,000 by 1979 (there were, in addition, 5,000 duplicates, and the library received 105 journals and 30 newspapers), to over 30,000 by 1984. This rapid growth of book resources was possible due to gifts of their works by authors and publishers, to continuous purchases of new editions from the Ukrainian SSR, as well as to donations of private libraries and archival and museum materials. Such donations were made by Bishop Ievhen Bachyns'kyi, Mykola Shumits'kyi (240 books, 664 archival items, including 21 letters of Petliura, 5 pictures, etc.), Mykola Koval's'kyi, Ivan Stasiv, Symon Sozontiv, Pavlo Shumovs'kyi, Oleh Shtul', Anastasiia Ianushevych, and Iurii Gergel'.

In addition to records of its own book resources, the library maintained records of important bibliographical entries on Ukrainian studies held by other Slavic libraries in Paris and throughout France, thus creating an original center of documented Ucrainica. P. Shumovs'kyi conducted classification of collected

bibliographical materials, dividing them into fifty groups, according to subject matter.[20] Today, the majority of book resources, as well as periodicals, have been catalogued on file cards; these are filed both alphabetically and by subject matter.

Two important events in this most recent period of the library's history contributed to the elevation of its position, prestige, and professionalism: the acquisition of its own quarters and the enlargement of its facilities. Taking advantage of the reparations paid, as well as of the generosity of the Ukrainian public, world-wide, which provided much financial support, the library acquired new quarters at 6, rue de Palestine, Paris 19. On 31 May 1969, the library, the governing board of the St. Symon Brotherhood in France, and the parish council of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Paris signed an agreement concerning co-ownership of the building at the above address. The festive opening of the new quarters took place on 27 May 1971.[21] The new location included a large hall, used for the library and for public gatherings. The library became a Ukrainian center where exhibitions, meetings, conferences, and conventions of various civic and cultural organizations and institutions in Paris were held.

In time, the library's space again grew too limited to house library resources and the museum, and steps were taken to enlarge the facility with the construction of an addition. Following a fund drive (during 1983–1987) for this specific purpose, sufficient funds were obtained from the Ukrainian public, and in the fall of 1985 construction began of additional space next to the existing building. By the end of 1986, the main construction work was completed and the interior work to furnish the space for the library's needs began.

With the deaths of the library's original founders—those "immortal five"—internal reorganization of the institution, which was created in the early years of Ukrainian postwar emigration in the 1920s, was deemed necessary. The founders of the library, familiar co-workers of the supreme otaman, belonged to the close environment of the Ukrainian National Republic, even though they denied their partisanship and called the library "a national institution"; they were, after all, only one part of the Ukrainian community. The ranks of the Ukrainian National Republic diminished after World War II; the idea of statehood for the UNR became a beacon for all Ukrainian political groups, even for those who had originally opposed it. It was, therefore, a providential decision of the library's leadership in the late 1950s and early 1960s to accept as members of the library people of all ideological or confessional views. Thus, the library transformed itself from a "governmental" institution into an all-Ukrainian one. A. Vyrsta and A. Zhukovs'kyi were accepted as full members of the library in the late 1950s; V. Kubiiovych, O. Kul'chyts'kyi, V. Ianiv, P. Shumovs'kyi, S. Sozontiv, M. Maslov, K. Mytrovych, O. Shtul', and O. Repetylo were accepted in the early 1960s.

[20] P. Shumovs'kyi, "Tsentr ukrainistychnoi dokumentatsii," *Informatsiinyi biuleten'* 15, no. 29 (January 1973), pp. 2–4.

[21] *Informatsiinyi biuleten'* 12, no. 23 (January 1970), p. 2.

The change from the previous system—in which the deciding votes were held by the founders—to a general public institution with a democratic general assembly—in which each member might share in decisions concerning the fate of the institution—was introduced legally on 24 April 1963 by alterations to the constitution. The authors of the new constitution were M. Maslov, A. Zhukovs'kyi, and K. Mytrovych. At the same time, the library, as a public institution, joined the general civic life of Paris and France, cooperating closely with the central public institution, the Ukrainian Central Civic Committee of France (1976). The library also joined the World Congress of Free Ukrainians and scientific institutions, which included the Shevchenko Scientific Society and the Ukrainian Free University. It initiated and, together with other organizations, participated in the annual "Panakhyda" (service for the dead) at the gravesite of Petliura in the Montparnasse cemetery. Especially festive, with the participation of great numbers of Ukrainians from Europe and overseas, were the commemorations of the thirty-fifth anniversary of Petliura's death in 1961, the fortieth in 1966, the fiftieth in 1976 (a scholarly conference dedicated to the supreme otaman S. Petliura was also held), the sixtieth in 1986, and the centennial of his birth in 1979. These opportunities for all Ukrainians to honor the memory of Petliura were largely due to the judicious policy of the library's leadership. Because of its initiative, representatives of the most important Ukrainian political groups spoke at the 60th anniversary of Petliura's death (1986).[22] It should also be noted that, beginning in 1962, the library took on the responsibility of maintaining and preserving Petliura's grave.

With the close of the era in which the library was led by its founders, the work was taken on by new enthusiasts, who believed in the deeds of the library's patron and in the importance of the library's function. The following were the chairpersons of the library council during the last twenty-five years: Ielysaveta Prokopovych (1963–1964), Petro Plevako (1964–1968), Pavlo Shumovs'kyi (1968–1981), Iurii Ieremiiv (1981–1983), and Arkadii Zhukovs'kyi (1983 to the present). The library council and its chairman comprise the administrative-management body of the institution. The executive organ—that is, the person who directs the institution, maintains contacts with representatives and with the public, and, at the same time, is the conservator of the library—continued to be the director-librarian. Petro Iosypyshyn held this post, with dedication, continuously from 1958 until 1989 and was also responsible for editing *Informatsiinyi biuleten'*. He was succeeded both as director-librarian and editor of *Informatsiinyi biuleten'* by Vasyl' Mykhal'chuk.

From its inception, the Petliura Ukrainian Library included in its goals its intention "to publish works in the field of Ukrainian studies," as is stated in the constitution of the library. Not all plans were realized, as, for example, that of publishing the "Chronicle of the S. Petliura Library-Museum" in the 1930s. Among the books published under the library's name, either in cooperation with other institutions or initiated and financed by the library, are included the following:

22 All the speeches of political leaders appeared in *Informatsiinyi biuleten'* 28, no. 49 (July 1986), pp. 2–10.

Petro Zlenko, *Symon Petliura* (materials for a bibliographical guide) (Paris, 1939; reprinted from *Tryzub*);

Alain Desroches, *Le problème ukrainien et Simon Petlura* (Le Feu et la Cendre) (Paris, 1962); this edition was initiated and partially financed by the library;

Symon Petliura, *Moskvos'ka vosha* (Paris, 1966); printed in cooperation with Nationalist Publishers in Europe;

Borys Martchenko, *Simon Petlura* (Paris, 1976) (in French);

Viacheslav Prokopovych, *Vichne piddanstvo. Do pytannia pro pravnu pryrodu z''iednannia Ukrainy i Moskvy* (Paris, 1976);

Symon Petliura. Statti, lysty, dokumenty, vol. 2 (New York, 1979); published with the Ukrainian Free Academy in the U.S.A.;

Symon Petliura. Zbirnyk studiino-naukovoi konferentsii v Paryzhi (traven', 1976). Statti, zamitky, materiialy, edited by V. Kosyk (Munich and Paris, 1980); published together with the Ukrainian Free University;

Taras Hunczak, *Simon Petlura et les Juifs* (Paris, 1987).

Jean Pélissier, *La tragédie ukrainienne* (Paris, 1988).

The library protested, as did other Ukrainian organizations, the defamation of the honored memory of Petliura that often occurred, because of certain persons, institutions, or publications inimical to the idea of Ukrainian independence. Such instances occurred: in 1958, with the publication of the book, *En notre âme et conscience. La vérité sur Simon Petlura* (Paris, 1958), in connection with radio and television coverage of the Schwartzbard trial; in 1963, with false statements made by the German Finance Ministry connecting Petliura with pogroms; in 1976, with the publication of an article in *Droit de vivre*, the organ of the International League against Racism and Antisemitism (LICRA); and in 1986, in connection with the publication of articles in *Information juive* (May 1986; September 1986).

The Ukrainian community has supported the library each time it was necessary to defend the good name of the Ukrainian people and the Ukrainian national movement and its participants, especially the person of Symon Petliura. The library continues to receive moral and financial help from all Ukrainians, without regard to any differences they may hold. Proof of this generosity was the purchase of the new library facility in 1969–1971 and its expansion in 1985–1987: the list of co-builders and patrons[23] and the listings of all donors published in *Informatsiinyi biuleten'* not only

[23] Co-builders of the library:

Metropolitan Mstyslav (Skrypnyk)
Archbishop Anatolii Dublians'kyi
Bishop Mykhail Hrynchyshyn
State Center of the UNR
Mykola Hromnyts'kyi
Professor Mykola Pavliuk
Capt. Oleksander Semmo
Viktoriia Novotna
Capt. Liutyi-Liutenko
Dr. Volodymyr Kotenko
Prokip Vynnyk
Ivan Zhukalo
Hanna Huver-Hrynevych
Halia Mazurenko
Ukrainian Orthodox Credit Union, New York
Capt. Petro Iosypyshyn
Mariia Semenchuk-Kreminiarivs'ka
Volodymyr Lysyi
Andrii Plonsak
Tetiana Dzivak
Capt. Iosyp Vrublivs'kyi
Ievheniia and Tymish Taborovs'kyi

guarantee the library's future existence, but demonstrate the extent to which the Ukrainian public values the Petliura Library.

Société Scientifique Ševčenko, Sarcelles

Dr. Liudmyla Skorik-Bryzhun and
Dr. Konstantyn Bryzhun
Dr. Oleksander Iarymovych
Stepan Mel'nychuk
Dr. Iryna Tymoshenko
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Halia Hrushets'ka
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O. Toryshchak
Oleksii and Halyna Voskobiinyk
Sofiia and Iurii Chopivs'kyi
Iaroslav Cherniavs'kyi
Ivan Derkach
Mykola Shchabel'nyk
Liudmyla Mulevych
St. Volodymyr Ukrainian Orthodox
Cathedral in Chicago
Mykola Kushnirenko
Iurii Feshchenko-Chopivs'kyi, Jr.
Anastasiia and Teodor Panchyshym

Ambroise Jobert, *In Memoriam*
(1904–1988)

Au moment même où l'on célébrait le Millénaire de la conversion de la Rus' et où on analysait les conséquences de cet événement pour l'histoire des peuples slaves orientaux, s'est éteint, le 27 mai 1988, Ambroise Jobert, un historien français qui a contribué à une meilleure connaissance du développement du christianisme chez deux de ces peuples, Ukrainiens et Biélorussiens, à l'époque cruciale de la Réforme et de la Contre-Réforme. Même si cette contribution ne constitue qu'un aspect de l'oeuvre d'A. Jobert, il nous a paru utile de l'évoquer ici, après avoir rappelé ce que fut la vie de ce savant.

Né en 1904 dans une famille catholique de Grenoble, A. Jobert reçut simultanément une profonde éducation chrétienne et une solide formation humaniste, dont il franchit brillamment les étapes jusqu'au concours de l'agrégation d'histoire passé dès l'âge de vingt-et-un ans (1925). Après une année dans l'enseignement secondaire, il fit partie de ces jeunes universitaires brillants que la France envoya propager sa langue et sa culture dans différents pays d'une Europe dont elle avait contribué à redessiner la carte: c'est ainsi qu'A. Jobert se trouva détaché pour trois ans à l'Institut français de Varsovie (1927–1930). Ce séjour (complété par un autre à Vienne en 1931–1934) fut déterminant pour sa carrière. Démontrant, comme plusieurs de ses contemporains, que la formation classique l'avait parfaitement armé pour aborder toutes les cultures européennes, A. Jobert devint un spécialiste de la Pologne, à laquelle il consacra sa thèse de doctorat, *La Commission d'Éducation nationale en Pologne (1773–1794), son oeuvre d'instruction civique*, soutenue à Lyon en 1941. Pendant les années tragiques qui suivirent, le jeune docteur ès-lettres resta professeur de lycée à Grenoble, ne cachant pas ses sympathies pour le mouvement de résistance à l'occupant et à ses alliés.

Nommé en 1945 Professeur à la Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Grenoble, il y fit toute sa carrière jusqu'à sa retraite, en 1969, une date qui ne marqua nullement la fin de son activité scientifique. C'est pendant cette époque de maturité que le maître de l'histoire polonaise en France qu'était devenu A. Jobert (on lui doit une *Histoire de la Pologne*, parue en 1953 dans la collection *Que sais-je?*, no. 591), privilégia l'époque de la Renaissance. Tout en consacrant plusieurs études à l'histoire de l'humanisme,[1] le chrétien convaincu mais tolérant qu'était A. Jobert fut attiré par l'histoire de la Réforme dans le seul pays d'Europe où cette crise s'était déroulée dans un climat de tolérance. Analysant ce phénomène exceptionnel en historien perspicace, il ne put se limiter à une approche exclusivement occidentale, à une opposition entre réformés et catholiques, et étendit ses investigations aux

[1] Voir notamment "L'Université de Cracovie et les grands courants de pensée du XVI^{e} siècle", *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 1 (1954): 213–25; "Érasme et la Pologne", *Cahiers d'histoire* 6 (1961): 5–20.

rapports entre ces derniers et les mouvements antitrinitaires d'Europe orientale et surtout à la cohabitation, au sein de la grande-principauté de Lituanie, entre chrétiens de rite latin et de rite grec. C'est par ce biais religieux qu'A. Jobert fut amené à s'intéresser à l'histoire de ceux qu'il appelait, en conformité avec la terminologie française traditionnelle, les "Ruthènes".

Ses recherches sur l'histoire religieuse de la "République", marquées par la parution d'un premier article en 1954,[2] occupèrent A. Jobert pendant vingt ans et aboutirent au livre que l'on peut considérer comme son chef d'oeuvre: *De Luther à Mohila, la Pologne dans la crise de la Chrétienté, 1517–1648* (Paris, 1974).[3] Il ne saurait être question de résumer ici ce livre magistral, de revenir sur la richesse de sa documentation, la limpidité de l'exposé, qualités qui lui ont été unanimement reconnues en son temps.[4] Grâce à celles-ci, A. Jobert fit découvrir au public cultivé français l'histoire religieuse des peuples ukrainien et biélorussien. On pourrait évoquer l'exposé attrayant, passionnant qu'il donne des faits, les portraits qu'il a su brosser, avec sobriété, de personnages comme Adam Potij, Meletij Smotryc'kyj, Iosyf Ruc'kyj, Peter Mohyla, le capucin Valérien Magni ou le roi Ladislas IV. Mais son principal mérite fut de présenter une question simplifiée à outrance, et envenimée par une historiographie trop souvent "militante", dans toute sa complexité, avec son enchevêtrement de faits sociaux, culturels, politiques, ecclésiastiques et religieux, pour en donner une image claire, objective et irénique. Mais irénisme ne signifie pas indifférence: A. Jobert ne fait pas seulement profiter le lecteur de sa science, il lui parle aussi, sur un sujet qui répondait à ses convictions profondes, avec tout son coeur. Comme l'a écrit dans la préface Karol Górski, son livre est à la fois "pondéré" et "poignant".

Savant et homme de conviction, A. Jobert laisse une oeuvre qui honore l'Université française, même si sa discrétion et sa modestie en ont probablement restreint la diffusion dans une société médiatisée. Il a cependant eu la satisfaction de voir ses collègues polonais apprécier à sa juste valeur son apport à la connaissance du passé de leur pays, comme en témoignent de nombreux honneurs, couronnés par une élection à l'Académie polonaise des sciences (1988). Une revue vouée à l'étude du passé ukrainien se devait d'associer sa voix à l'hommage rendu à un savant dont la vie et l'oeuvre appartiennent à l'Europe chrétienne perçue dans sa plénitude, sa variété et sa richesse.

Wladimir Vodoff
École pratique des hautes études, Paris

[2] "L'État polonais, la liberté religieuse et l'Église orthodoxe au XVII^{e} siècle", *Revue internationale d'histoire politique et constitutionnelle* 5 (1954): 236–43.

[3] Collection historique de l'Institut d'Études slaves, 21.

[4] Voir entre autres les comptes rendus d'A. Latreille, *Revue historique*, 1975, no. 515, pp. 242–45; de H. S. Henry, *The Polish Review* 21 (1976): 116–18; de J. Orcibal, *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 193 (1976): 233–41; de G. Rupp, *The Slavonic and East European Review* 54 (1976): 463–64; d'A. Séguenny, *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, N.F. 25 (1977): 457–58; de C. Backvis, *Slavic Review* 36 (1977): 140–41.

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